



ڈاکٹر زکیر حسین لائبریری

**DR ZAKIR HUSAIN LIBRARY**

**JAMIA MILLIA ISLAMIA**

**JAMIA NAGAR**

**NEW DELHI**

Please examine the books before  
taking it out You will be responsible  
for damage to the book disco  
vered while returning it

63

Rare  
922.97  
NIZ

DATE  
~~~~

cc No \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

Late Fine Rs 1 00 per day for first 15 days  
Rs 2 00 per day after 15 days of the due date.

|  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|
|  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|

Dr ZAKIR HUSAIN LIBRARY



R-107



THE LIFE AND TIMES  
OF  
SHAIKH FARID-U'D-DIN  
GANJ-I-SHAKAR

By  
KHALIQ AHMAD NIZAMI  
Reader in History  
Muslim University, Aligarh

With a Foreword by  
SIR HAMILTON GIBB  
Professor of Arabic  
Oxford University, Oxford



DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY  
ALIGARH

Publication of the Department of History Muslim University, Aligarh, No 9

*General Editor* Prof S A Rashid

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1955

PRINTED BY N E CHINWALLA, MANAGER, BRITISH INDIA PRESS, BOMBAY, AND  
PUBLISHED BY PROF S A RASHID, HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND  
DIRECTOR OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH, MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH

THE LIFE AND TIMES  
OF  
SHAIKH FARID-U'D-DIN GANJ-I-SHAKAR

*By the same Author*

- 1 Political Letters of Shāh Wali-ullah of Dehli
- 2 Tārikh-i-Mashāikh-i-Chisht
- 3 Hayāt-i-Shaikh 'Abd-u'l Haqq Muḥaddith-i-Dehli
- 4 Supplement to Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, Vol II
- 5 Khair-u'l-Majālis (Critical Edition)

## DEDICATED

to

those moments of exquisitely pleasant spiritual agony

when

BABA FARID

alone in his tumbling hut—in the dead of the night, with his face lifted  
heavenwards and tears trickling down his cheeks, recited

خواهم که همیشه در هوای تو ریم  
حاکم شوم و نیز پای تو ریم  
مقصود من نهد و گردین نوی  
هر دو میوم را برای تو ریم





## FOREWORD

A century has now passed since scholars began to realize the need of interpreting the history of Islam in terms of contemporary historical science. The progress that has been made since then in many directions is undeniable, but every advance has only thrown into ever sharper relief the extent of the task still to be done. The first and most urgent requirement was to fashion the external framework, to trace the historical growth of the Muslim Community in space and time. Even in this field much still remains to be done in detail, but the outlines at least are firmly drawn. The next, and more difficult, problem is to study this history in depth, to uncover its social mechanisms and show the working of its institutions, to understand the interrelations of its component elements and evaluate the response of communities and individuals to successive material and moral challenges. The vast extent and intricacy of these investigations need no exposition, and it will be many years before the student of Muslim history can see, or hope to see, the whole picture clearly displayed before him. The immediate need is for close monographic study of individual facets and problems relating to the social and economic aspects of urban and rural life and to the factors which moulded the attitudes and activities of different groups, combined with the search for surviving documentary materials of every kind.

Pre-eminent among these problems relating to the life of the Muslim Community in all regions since the twelfth century is the activity and influence of the Sufi shaikhs and orders. It was into the Sufi movement that the life-blood of the Community flowed ever more strongly. No adequate history of Islam can be written until it, with all its causes and effects, has been studied patiently and with scholarly integrity. In no region moreover, is this study more fundamental or more urgently required than in that of Islam in India. Islam came into India in the wake of conquering armies and found itself confronted by a culture and civilization with which it had in the first centuries no point of contact and no common ground except in the one field of the mystical search. Here the significance of Sufism in the life of the Muslim Community was redoubled by its significance in the non-Muslim environment. Less even than Islam elsewhere can Islam in India be studied and understood without an insight into the meaning, causes and effects of the Sufi movements.

No further argument is needed to demonstrate the importance of the studies now being directed by a small band of Indian Muslim scholars

into the heart of this problem, nor to underline its timeliness. The present work of Mr. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami takes its fitting place in this scholarly enterprise. Baba Farid is a seminal personality in the development of the Islamic mystical movement in India. The first necessity, before this movement can be historically (or even theologically) evaluated, is to situate such personalities in their own environment and to see them with the eyes of their contemporaries. This is what Mr. Nizami has done for Baba Farid, wisely and with good historical sense refraining from any attempt to import into his study either premature generalizations or the distorting views of later centuries.

H. A. R. GIBB

St. John's College,  
Oxford, 28th April, 1955.

## PREFACE

*"There is  
One great society alone on earth  
The Noble Living and the Noble Dead"*

The study of mediæval Indian history has for long centred round the pomp and panoply of the courts and camps of the kings, and we have got into the habit of surveying 'the historical landscape from the foot of the royal throne'. But now a stage has been reached in our historical studies when we should turn to the humble dwellings of those saints and sages who, unspoilt by wealth and power and uncorrupted by court-life, dedicated their pious lives to the spiritual uplift of man. At a time when race for political power was the prevailing madness, they reminded men of their moral and spiritual obligations and in a world torn by strifes and conflicts they strove to bring about the harmony of a perfect orchestra.

If it is correct to say that ninety percent of the energies of our people in the middle ages were absorbed by their spiritual and moral efforts, the need and urgency of studying the lives of the saints can hardly be over-emphasized. In their life-stories we can find a glimpse of mediæval society, in all its fullness, if not in all its perfection—the moods and tensions of the common man writ large, the inner yearnings of his soul, the religious thought both at its higher and lower levels—in fact, all problems with which the mediæval people were faced. The mediæval *Ḍhānqahs* were the places where the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the learned and the illiterate, men and women, villagers and town folk—all met and rubbed their shoulders together, leaving all class distinctions outside the *Ḍhānqah* gate. Here I have attempted, through the medium of the life-story of a leading saint of the time, to present an aspect of the spiritual quest of the middle ages.

This life-sketch of *Shaiḥ* Farid-u'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar (1175-1265), is one of the series of monographs which I have planned on mediæval mystics. To those people who have long concentrated on the military and spectacular affairs, this series extends an humble invitation in the words of Sanā'i:

ای کہ شنیدی صفت روم و چین  
ہر و ہر ملک صدائی نہ بین

('Oh Thou who has heard of the glories of Rum and China,  
Get up and behold the realm of Sanā'i')

While preparing this small biography of a great medieval saint, my endeavour has been to make as critical and judicious a use of the available sources as possible. In using contemporary works due allowance has been made for the attitude of the author, while in the case of later works an attempt has been made to remove that coating which legend and superstition have woven round the real figures of these saints. Statements of later writers have been accepted only in cases where corroborative evidence from the earlier sources is forthcoming or where these statements do not run counter to contemporary authorities. The fabricated literature of the period, which consists of a number of *maḥfūẓāt* and *diwāns*, has been completely rejected in deference to Shaykh Naṣir-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehli's verdict that they contain much which is not worthy of the Chishtī saints.

It is my pleasant duty to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Zākir Husain, Vice-Chancellor of our University, for the keen interest that he has taken in my work and to Professor Muḥammad Habīb and Professor Shaykh 'Abdur Raḥīm for their kindness in going through the manuscript and suggesting many improvements. Sir Hamilton Gibb has placed me under a heavy debt of obligation by writing a Foreword to this book. When I approached him with this purpose, he wrote to me "As regards the Foreword to your monograph on Shaykh Farīd-u'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar, I will say frankly that I do not as a rule write Forewords. On the other hand, it would be absurd to adopt a hard and fast regulation which took no account of circumstances. I shall not and cannot promise you here and now that you will get a Foreword from me, but I shall certainly read the typescript with interest and care, if you will be kind enough to send it, and if the work is what I hope and expect to find, then I shall willingly make an exception to the rule." Within a month of the despatch of the typescript he sent this Foreword to me for which I am very grateful to him. In spite of the association of these great names with this humble work, I alone am responsible for its imperfections and defects. With great diffidence I place it before the kindly reader.

KHALIQ AHMAD NIZAMI

Muslim University,  
Aligarh.  
November 20, 1955.

## CONTENTS

|                                                                       | Pages |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| Dedication .. .. .                                                    | v     |
| Foreword .. .. .                                                      | vii   |
| Preface .. .                                                          | ix    |
| Introduction . . . . .                                                | 1     |
| Chapter I Birth, Parentage and Ancestry                               | 10    |
| Chapter II Childhood and Early Education                              | 15    |
| Chapter III At the feet of <u>Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn</u>                 | 19    |
| Chapter IV Prayers and Penitences                                     | 24    |
| Chapter V Itineracy                                                   | 29    |
| Chapter VI In Hānsī                                                   | 31    |
| Chapter VII At the Head of the <u>Chishtī</u> <u>Silsilah</u>         | 33    |
| Chapter VIII In Ajodhan                                               | 36    |
| Chapter IX Life in Ajodhan                                            |       |
| (a) The <u>Shaykh</u> and his family                                  | 39    |
| Chapter X Life in Ajodhan                                             |       |
| (b) The Jamā'at <u>Khānah</u> and its visitors                        | 46    |
| Chapter XI Last days and death                                        | 56    |
| Chapter XII Descendants of Bābā Farīd                                 | 59    |
| Chapter XIII. Spiritual Successors of Bābā Farīd                      | 67    |
| Chapter XIV The man                                                   | 79    |
| Chapter XV The Scholar                                                | 81    |
| Chapter XVI. The Poet                                                 | 84    |
| Chapter XVII. Teachings of <u>Shaykh</u> Farīd                        | 87    |
| Chapter XVIII. Bābā Farīd's Spiritual Discipline                      | 92    |
| Chapter XIX. Attitude towards the State                               | 100   |
| Chapter XX Relations with the Non-Muslims                             | 105   |
| Chapter XXI Estimate                                                  | 110   |
| Appendix A Why Ganj-i-Shakar ?                                        | 116   |
| Appendix B <i>Maḥfūz</i> literature attributed to <u>Shaykh</u> Farīd | 118   |
| Appendix C <u>Shaykh</u> Farīd and the <i>Guru Granth</i>             | 121   |
| Appendix D Sajjādah Naḥḥīns of Bābā Farīd's <i>Ḥikmah</i>             | 123   |
| Appendix E The Bihishtī Darwāzah                                      | 124   |
| Appendix F Bibliography                                               | 125   |
| Index .. .. .                                                         | 133   |



## INTRODUCTION

Shaykh Farid-u'd-din Mas'ud Ganj-i-Shakar (1175-1265), popularly known as Bābā Farid, is one of the most revered and distinguished of medieval Muslim mystics. For many years his Khānqah at Ajodhan—the modern Pak-Patan—was a place of pilgrimage for millions of people of all castes and creeds. Teeming crowds flocked to it and found spiritual solace in his company. A calm spiritual atmosphere pervaded his dwelling, and men who were secretly tormented by flames of mundane ambitions, found in his Khānqah 'the refreshing breeze of a different world'. He was a living light to which it was good and pleasant to be near and he inspired everyone who came into contact with him. To-day, when we think of him, thanks to the *Faṣā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* of Amīr Hasan Sijzi and the *Siyar-u'l-Ashyā* of Arifī Khurd, a world of historic visions and memories glows into consciousness.

Bābā Farid lived at a very significant period of Indo-Muslim history. He saw the collapse of the Ghaznavid power in the Punjab, the march of the Ghurid armies into Aryavarta, the liquidation of Rajput power in Northern India and the final subjugation of Hindustan by the Turks. Later on, he heard the Mongols knocking at the gates of India and saw the panic and the fear which gripped the people at every Mongol incursion. The stream of Central Asian refugees flowed into his neighbourhood. The city of Dehli—with her newly built minarets, mosques and tanks—rose into prominence in his life-time. He was in his thirties when Sultān Shihab-u'd-din Muḥammad Ghuri was assassinated at Damyak and in his nineties when Balban ascended the throne of Dehli. Thus the story of his life is an important aspect of the spiritual history of medieval India during its most momentous and significant years of hectic and restless political activity. At a time when the entire country was resounding with the din and clatter of the Ghurid arms, Bābā Farid sat cool and collected in his tumbling hut in a far-off town of the Punjab, teaching lessons of human love and affection. Today the territorial achievements of Shihab-u'd-din are tales of the past, but the message of Bābā Farid still echoes through the corridors of time.

Muslim mysticism is, in its essence, a message of love. It aims at creating harmony in the discordant elements of society. True to these ideals, Bābā Farid strove day and night to create that atmosphere of love and good-will which was, and is even to-day, the greatest desideratum of human society. A healthy social order—free from dissensions, conflicts, discriminations, hatred and jealousy—was the



thing he longed for. In love, faith, toleration and sympathy, which included even the enemy, he found the supreme talisman of human happiness. "Do not give me scissors", he told a visitor who had presented him a pair of scissors, "give me a needle I sew. I do not cut".

As I have shown elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> higher mysticism, as understood and interpreted by its best exponents, is nothing but service of humanity. Bābā Farid's long life was spent in helping people in distress. Every day hundreds of people brought their worries to him. He heard everyone's problems sympathetically and, in his own peculiar way, created in his visitors that unshakable faith in God, respect for moral values and that proper attitude of mind which helped them in self-control in the midst of the severest tribulations and trials of life. What Professor Moḥammad Ḥabīb has written about Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā, may with striking aptness, be said with regard to him. "He was not a miracle-monger of ordinary sort. He never flew in the air or walked on water with dry and motionless feet. His greatness was the greatness of a loving heart, his miracles were the miracles of a deeply sympathetic soul. He could read a man's inner heart by a glance at his face and spoke the words that brought consolation to a tortured heart."<sup>2</sup> If ever the overcrowding of visitors prevented him from paying individual attention to everyone, he would cry out "Come to me one by one so that I may attend to your problems individually." Tales of human sufferings racked his heart and seared his soul. He suffered for others and shared their grief. His kind words of sympathy and advice were like balm to the afflicted who came to him. How correct is Barani's estimate of the Shāikh when he says, "He has taken the inhabitants of this region under his wings!"<sup>3</sup>

Few saints in the long and chequered history of Indo-Muslim mysticism have subjected their physical self to such rigorous spiritual discipline as Bābā Farid. His life of 93 years is one long illustration of the way in which the Finite struggles to shatter all trammels of finitude and merges itself in the Infinite and lives for the Lord alone. The *summum bonum* of his life is neatly epitomised in the verse which he very often recited

مقصود من بندہ رگوئیں توئی  
ارہر تو مہم از برائی تو زیم

(In both the worlds Thou alone art the Object that I cherish, I die for Thee and I live for Thee.)

This dedication opened his soul to what Carlyle calls 'the Divine Significance of Life'.<sup>4</sup> He threw himself in line with the Divine Purpose

<sup>1</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Maghāzikh-i-Chishtī*, published by the Nadwat-u'l-Muḥammidiyyin, Delhi, 1953.

<sup>2</sup> *Hasrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi*, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Firās Shāhī*, p. 112.

<sup>4</sup> *On Heroes & Hero-worship*, Oxford Press 1912, p. 116.

and allowed the spirit of the Highest and the Best to have complete dominion over him. In his old age he used to say: "For forty years Mas'ūd did as God wished him to do, now what he wishes is one."<sup>1</sup>

Shaikh Farid's God was neither a theological myth nor a logical abstraction of unity, but an all-embracing personality present in his ethical, intellectual and aesthetic experience and furnishing the inspiration for creating an ideal realm of values—the kingdom of heaven—in a distressed and struggling world.<sup>2</sup> Living upto the highest ideal of devotion in Islam,<sup>3</sup> he felt as if he was always in His presence,<sup>4</sup> and while offering his prayer he seemed to be communicating with the Infinite and the Eternal.<sup>5</sup> This consciousness of the Divine presence around him was the guide and motive of his active waking life and gave it a transcendent worth. He strove to understand Him in His dynamic relation to this finite world. This mystic belief in God had a value in terms of human life. It made him a citizen of that universal society in which God is the Supreme Intelligence and all human beings His manifestations. Besides, this belief gave to his frail human reed its unshakable strength, breadth of vision and independence of spirit.

Bābā Farid's prayer was not a mechanical or lifeless formality. It was a mature activity of a heart overflowing with cosmic emotion. When he prayed he linked himself with that inexhaustible motive power that spins the universe. "People say," Shaikh Najib-u'd-din Mutawakkil asked his brother one day, "when you pray, you hear God saying I am present my 'Abā (Creature). Is it so?" It would have been pedantic to say 'yes' to this query and so he evaded the reply.<sup>6</sup>

Bābā Farid believed that His existence could be felt only through proper cultivation of emotions. Intellect could, at best, give him an abstract concept of God. His emotions gave him the God of his worship—a living reality surrounding him. In the development of cosmic emotion and a spirit of love and concern for the well being of others, he found the way to His realization. He would bless every visitor with the words "May God give you *dard*", and as Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya has explained, by *dard* the saint meant an eye full of tears and a heart full of emotions.<sup>7</sup> It is difficult to imagine the condition

<sup>1</sup> *Khaw-ul Mayālis* p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> See *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 558-559. Also *Tārīkh-i-Maghāzīh-i-Chishtī*, pp. 46-54.

<sup>3</sup> The Prophet is reported to have said

الإحسان أن تعبد الله كأنك تراه فان لم تكن تراه فإنه يراك

"*Ahsān* means that you pray God as if you are seeing Him, or if you are not seeing Him, He is seeing you."

<sup>4</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 203.

<sup>5</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 121.

<sup>6</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 121.

<sup>7</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 132.

of his own heart. His external appearance—firm, composed and unruffled—never betrayed the storms that raged within him. But one day when a dear disciple, Muḥammad Shāh, came to him, excited, worried and trembling, he could not help stating his own condition. "Why do you look so unhappy?" enquired the Shaiḫ. "My brother is ill", replied Muḥammad Shāh, "He may have died since I left him." "Muḥammad Shāh!", said Shaiḫ Farīd, "As you are at this moment, I have been like that all my life, but I have never expressed it to anyone!"

Bābā Farīd's mystic songs were, in fact, intended to break the strain on his emotions, to quicken his emotional response,<sup>3</sup> and to attune his heart to the Infinite and the Eternal. Sometimes he would himself recite couplets and supply fuel to his burning emotions. One day he recited the following couplet of the famous mystic poet Nizāmī

نظمی انہم اصرار است کز خاطر عیان کردی  
کسی سرش نمی داند زبان درکش زبان درکش

and found such emotional pleasure that he went on reciting it throughout the day, late into the night and in the small hours of the morning, and every time that he recited it, its effect on his emotions was reflected in the rapidly changing expressions on his face.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes he would close himself in his small room, walk up and down, lay his head in *suḡdah* and pathetically recite verses.<sup>5</sup> One day there was none to recite songs. He asked Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq to bring his bag (*Aḥarīfah*) of letters and recite the letter of Qādī Hamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī. Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn stood up and began to read the letter. He had hardly finished the introductory lines that the Shaiḫ's heart began to overflow with emotions and he found in the Qādī's letter the inspiration of a mystic song.<sup>6</sup>

The Chishtī mystics believed that spiritual progress was incompatible with the life of *shughl*<sup>7</sup> and possession of power and property. All these things distracted emotions and stunted the growth of spiritual personality. Bābā Farīd always kept away from politics and advised his disciples to eschew *shughl* and *jāgirdārī*. He used to say

گر وصال شاه می داری طبع  
از وصال حویشن مہجور باش

(If you long for meeting the King, give up hope of gnosis)

<sup>3</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 232

<sup>4</sup> 'صباح نذر یک قلب است'—*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 246

<sup>5</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 101

<sup>6</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 203

<sup>7</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 130

<sup>8</sup> In medieval literature the term *shughl* is almost invariably used for government service

Bābā Farīd's position in the history of the *Chishtī Silsilah* is unique. Disciple of a great saint, he was the teacher of a still greater saint. His association with *Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī* on one hand and *Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya* on the other, gives him a pre-eminent place in the history of the *Chishtī Silsilah*. If *Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī* introduced the *silsilah* in India and *Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī* popularised it in Delhi and her neighbourhood, it was through the efforts of Bābā Farīd that the organization struck roots into the soil and spread far and wide. His piety, devotion and spiritual excellence attracted seekers after truth from distant parts of India as well as from lands beyond. Very rightly does 'Isāmī call him "the ruler of the realm of spiritual discipline (*Shāh-i-Mulk-i-Sulūk*)."<sup>1</sup>

Writing the biography of a medieval saint may be a tempting task, but it is fraught with difficulties. The main difficulty arises out of the nature of the source material. As years roll on, the real and human figure of a saint gets obscured by the legend and fiction which grows round him. These legendary stories may reveal the working of the mind of the people amongst whom they were current, but they do not help us, in the least, in understanding the saint himself or in interpreting his teachings properly. To remove these crusts is therefore, the first and, by far, the most difficult duty of any biographer.

Our earliest and the best source of information for the life of Bābā Farīd are the scattered stories and references found in the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, the Conversations of *Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya* compiled by Amīr Hasan Siyāl.<sup>2</sup> As a devoted disciple of Bābā Farīd, *Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya* refers to him again and again.

Next to the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* comes the *Khawar-u'l-Majālis*,<sup>3</sup> Conversations of *Shāikh Naṣir-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehlī*<sup>4</sup> compiled by Hamīd Qalandar. *Shāikh Naṣir-u'd-dīn*'s source of information was his master

<sup>1</sup> *Kutub-u's Solūkh*, (Madras Edition) page 8.

<sup>2</sup> Amīr Hasan 'Alā-i-Siyāl (ob. 776 A.H. / 335 A.D.) was a distinguished disciple of *Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya*. He was a fast friend of Amīr Husraw and Dīwān-dīn Baranī. He was a gifted poet (*Duwān*, edited by Mas'ūd 'Alī Mahwī Ibrāhīmīah Machine Press, Hyderabad). Baranī says that he was called 'a'adī of Hindūstan (*Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* p. 360). The most famous work of Amīr Hasan is the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*. A small brochure on 'Ishq (Love) named *Mukh-u'l-Ma'ānī* is also available in the Muslim University Library, Aligarh. For his life see Introduction to his *Diwān Nafahāt-u'l-Uns* p. 398-99. *Ikkhār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 100-102.

<sup>3</sup> *Khawar-u'l-Majālis* has been edited by me and is being published by the Department of History, Muslim University, Aligarh.

<sup>4</sup> *Shāikh Naṣir-u'd-dīn Mahmūd Chirāgh-i-Dehlī* (ob. 757 A.H. / 1356 A.D.) was an eminent disciple and successor (*Khatīfak*) of *Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya*. Originally a native of Awadh, he settled in Dehlī at the order of his master and devoted his life to the propagation of the Chishtī mystic principles. He was one of those great Chishtī saints who opposed Sultān Muhammad bin Tughlaq's policy of forcing the saints to take up government service. For his life see Professor Mohd. Habib's excellent article "*Shāikh Naṣir-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehlī as a great historical personality*", *Islamic Culture* Vol. XX/2 April, 1946, pp. 129-153.

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā, who was always ready to narrate some stories about his master to his disciples in order to bring home to them the principles of the Chishtī Silsilah.

The *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*<sup>1</sup> of Sayyid Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, known as Amīr Khurd, a disciple of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā, is another very reliable and important source of information for the life of Bābā Farīd. It was written in 752-90 A.H./1351-88 A.D. Amīr Khurd belonged to a family which had been in close contact with Bābā Farīd. His grandfather, Sayyid Muḥammad Kirmānī, disciple of Bābā Farīd, had lived with the saint for 18 years and was in charge of the domestic duties of the Shaikh's household.<sup>2</sup> Amīr Khurd's father, Sayyid Nūr-u'd-dīn Mubārak, was also a disciple of Bābā Farīd.<sup>3</sup> Amīr Khurd has given in his book whatever he heard from his ancestors or his spiritual master.

Besides these three works, which are our main authorities, there are a number of *tadhkirahs* (biographies of saints) compiled in later centuries. Of this literature, the *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*<sup>4</sup> of Maulānā Hāmid bin Faḍl-u'llah known as Jamālī,<sup>5</sup> is the most important. The author had travelled widely in Muslim lands—Hejāz, Yemen, Palestine, Rūm, Syria, Irāq, Adherbayjān, Gilān, Khurāsān etc.<sup>6</sup> and had made independent enquiries about some of the saints mentioned in his book.

The 17th century developed great interest in the lives of the medieval saints and a number of *tadhkirahs* appeared. In this literature Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-Haqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi's *Akhhār-ul-Akhyār*<sup>7</sup> is decidedly the best. As a trained Muḥaddith (scholar of the Traditions of the Prophet) the Shaikh has carefully applied the *Uṣūl-i-Isnād* (Critique of Evidence) to his study of medieval saints. He has critically

<sup>1</sup> Published by Chirangi Lal, Dehli, 1302 A.H./1885 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p. 208-210.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> Printed at the Ridwi Press, Delhi 1311 A.H./1893 A.D.

<sup>5</sup> Maulānā Hāmid bin Faḍl-u'llah, popularly known as Darwesh Jamālī (ob. 942 A.H./1536 A.D.) was a mystic of the Suhrawardi order. He was a disciple of Shaikh Samā'u'd-dīn (ob. 901 A.H./1496 A.D.) He flourished in Dehli from the time of Sultān Bahlul Lodi to the reign of Humāyūn. He accompanied Humāyūn on his expedition to Gujrāt where he died in 942 A.H. He was buried in Dehli, at a short distance south east of the Qutb Minār. Shaikh Gadā'i, who occupied the office of Shadr-u'l-Shudūr during the regency of Bairām Khan, was his son. For biographical notices see *Akhhār-ul-Akhyār* p. 221-2, *Muntakhab-u'l-Tawārīkh* in p. 76, *Oriental College Magazine* x/1 H. 147-59 and xi/1 p. 76 et seq.

<sup>6</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-Haqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi (958-1052 A.H./1551-1641 A.D.) was an eminent scholar and traditionist of the Mughal period. For more than half a century his seminary at Dehli was the centre of religious learning in India. He popularised the study of the traditions of the Prophet in Northern India. He is the author of more than one hundred big and small works. For his life and works see K.A. Nizāmi *Hayāt-i-Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-Haqq Muḥaddith-i-Dehli*, published by the *Nadwat-u'l-Muḥammidiyyin*, Dehli, 1953.

examined the material and has drawn as accurate a picture of the saints and scholars of medieval India as is possible <sup>1</sup>

Though not so accurate as the *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār*, the *Gulzār-i-Abrār*<sup>2</sup> is, never-the-less, a valuable work on the Indo-Muslim saints Muḥammad Ghaṭhī Shattārī (born in 962 A H /1554 A D) was a pupil of Sayyid Wajīh-u'd-dīn 'Alawī<sup>3</sup> (ob. 998 A H /1589 A D) His work, compiled between 1014-1022 A H /1605-1613 A D is particularly helpful with regard to the descendants of Bābā Farīd in the South.

Besides we also have the following *tadhkirahs*

- i) *Akhhār-u'l-Ashfiyā* by 'Abdus Ṣamad bīn Afdāl Muḥammad
- ii) *Mir'at-u'l-Asrār* by Maulānā 'Abd-u'r Raḥmān Chishtī
- iii) *Majma'-u'l-Auliyā* by Mir 'Alī Akbar Ḥusānī Ardustānī
- iv) *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb* by Allāh Diyāh Chishtī
- v) *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* by 'Alī Aḡḡha Chishtī
- vi) *Sajīnat-u'l-Auliyā* by Dārā Shikoh
- vii) *Ma'ārij-u'l-Walīyat* by Ghulām Mu'in-u'd-dīn
- viii) *Matlūb-ut-Tālibīn* by Muḥammad Bulāq Chishtī
- ix) *Rawḍah-i-Aqṭāb* by Muḥammad Bulāq Chishtī
- x) *Iqṭbās-u'l-Anwār* by Muḥammad Akram
- xi) *Shajrat-u'l-Anwār* by Maulānā Raḥīm Bakḡhī Faḡhri

'Abdus Ṣamad was a nephew of Abū'l Fadl. He completed his book *Akhhār-u'l-Ashfiyā* in 1014 A H /1605-6 A D It has not been published so far <sup>4</sup> The *Mir'at-u'l-Asrār* was completed in 1065 A H /1654 A D It contains biographical notes on all Muslim saints, Indian and foreign. Maulānā 'Abd-u'r Raḥmān<sup>5</sup> account of Bābā Farīd, his sons and disciples, is detailed but at some places uncritical The work has not been published <sup>6</sup> The *Majma'-u'l-Auliyā*, compiled in

<sup>1</sup> See *Hayāt-i-'Abd u'l-Haqq* p. 200-204

<sup>2</sup> Persian text has not been published so far MSS in the Libraries of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (dated 1155 A H /1742-43 A D) Lindensiana (dated 1078 A H /1667-78), Asafiyah and Habibulung An Urdu translation was published from Agra in 1326 A H

<sup>3</sup> Sayyid Wajīh-u'd-dīn 'Alawī was a distinguished scholar of his age. He started his *madrasah* at the age of 20 and taught scholars for 30 years in that seminary. His pupils were drawn from different parts of the country. Jahāngīr speaks very highly about him in his *Tuzuk* p. 211

<sup>4</sup> MSS in Feshawar (dated 1189 A H /1678-9), India Office (dated 1089-9 A H /1687-8 A D) and Bankipur Libraries

<sup>5</sup> Maulānā 'Abd-u'r Raḥmān was a descendant of Shāhī Ahmad 'Abd-u'l Haqq Rudaulwī (ob. 836 A H /1434 A D) and succeeded in 1032/1622 A D to the headship of a local branch of the Chishtī Silsilah at Rudaulī. He is the author of a number of books. Among them *Mirāt-u'l-Mahmūdāt*, *Mirāt-u'l-Haqqīq*, *Nafas-i-Raḥmānī*, *Awḥād-i-Chishtīyah*, *Mir'at-i-Madārī* and *Mirāt-i-Mas'ūdī* deserve to be noted. He was a good scholar of Sanskrit and the first two of the above mentioned books are based on Hindu mythological works. He died in 1094 A H /1681 A D

<sup>6</sup> MSS in the libraries of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (dated 1088 A H /1677-8 A D), Bankipur (dated 1220 A H /1800 A D), Asafiyah (dated 1309 A H /1891-2) and the British Museum (dated 1189 A H /1775 A D) I have used my personal MS which contains no date

1043 A.H /1633-34 A.D. was dedicated to Shāh Jahān (1037-1068 A.H / 1628-1658 A.D.). It has not been published as yet. An autograph copy is available in the India Office Library

The *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb* of Allah Diyah<sup>1</sup> was completed in 1056 A.H / 1646 A.D. It has been published several times from Lucknow.<sup>2</sup> The *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* completed in 1033 A.H /1623 A.D., contains detailed but mostly uncritical and unreliable account of Bābā Farīd and his descendants. 'Alī Asghar says that he wrote his book "to elucidate the complex genealogical relations of the descendants of Sh. Farīd-al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar, who were so numerous that he had been surnamed Adam-i-Thānī and many imposters had been able to claim privileges to which they were not entitled"<sup>3</sup> The fact, however, remains that the *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* has added to, rather than removed, the confusion. It was published from Lahore in 1301 A.H. An Urdu translation is also available.<sup>4</sup> The *Safinat-u'l-Auliya* completed in 1049 A.H /1640 A.D. contains very brief notices of Muslim saints. It was published from Agra in 1269 A.H /1853 A.D. An Arabic version by Shaikh Ja'far Šādiq of Gujrat (1064 A.H /1653 A.D.) is also available in manuscript. The *Ma'ārij-u'l-Walīyat* is a detailed encyclopaedia of Indo-Muslim saints. A very valuable MS of this work is in possession of the writer of these lines. It was completed in 1094 A.H /1682 A.D. and covers about two thousand pages. Its accounts are detailed and within certain limits very critical. What increases its value most is the fact that the author has given extensive extracts from the writings of the saints and scholars discussed by him. The account of Bābā Farīd alone runs over 20 folios, while that of his disciples covers 26 folios.

The *Maflūb-u'l-Tālibīn* and the *Rauḍah-i-Aqtāb* are works of Muhammad Bulāq who claims to be a descendant of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya's sister. The first book is a detailed biography of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya, his elder saints and their disciples. It was compiled in 1111 A.H /1699 A.D. It has not been published so far.<sup>5</sup> The *Rauḍah-i-Aqtāb*<sup>6</sup> deals mainly with Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn

<sup>1</sup> Allah Diyah Chishtī, a descendant of Shaikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn Pānīpatī, was a disciple of Shāh A'la Pānīpatī. He lived in Kairanah, near Pānīpat. His grandfather Shaikh Bīnā was a noted surgeon of Akbar's time. His uncle Muqarrab Khān, Jahāngīr's surgeon and friend, was governor of Gujrat, Bihār and Agra in Jahāngīr's reign and was given the *pargana* of Kairanah as a *jāgīr*. Allah Diyah and his two brothers took part in Shāh Jahān's march towards Kābul. Storey *Persian Literature*, p. 1003.

<sup>2</sup> Newal Kishore, Lucknow 1877, 1881, 1889, 1913.

<sup>3</sup> Storey *Persian Literature* p. 986.

<sup>4</sup> Printed at the Karīmī Press, Lahore. I have used a MS in my personal collection. It has been very carefully collated with other MSS by Dīwān Allah Jawāyā Shāhīd, a *Sayyid* of Bābā Farīd's Dargah.

<sup>5</sup> MSS in India Office and Muslim University Aligarh Libraries. I have used my personal copy.

<sup>6</sup> Printed at the Muhib-i-Hind Press, Delhi 1887 A.D.

Bakhtiyār Kākī, but gives brief notices of other eminent Chishtī saints also. The *Iqtibās-u'l-Anwār* of Muḥammad Akram was completed in 1142 A H / 1729 A D. It was published from Lahore in 1895. The *Shajrat-u'l-Anwār*<sup>1</sup> contains biographical notices of the Chishtī saints of India. The author was a disciple of Shāh Fakhr-u'd-dīn (ob 1199 A H / 1784 A D). Among still later works reference may be made to the *Khazinat-u'l-Agfiyā* of Maulanā Ghulām Sarwar Lāhori, the *Anwār-u'l-'Aṣfi*<sup>2</sup> of Hāfiz Muḥammad Husam Moradābādī and the *Manāqib-u'l-Mahbūbin*<sup>3</sup> of Maulanā Najm-u'd-dīn

These works were compiled when legends were rapidly growing round these saints. However, this later literature has been utilised by me with great care and only after considerable scrutiny. Their mistakes have been pointed out and their exaggerations have been noted wherever necessary.

In the middle ages a literary convention of incorporating accounts of the saints in political works somehow developed and became very popular. But Minhāj-u's-Sirāj, the author of *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*,<sup>4</sup> who was a contemporary of Bābā Farīd does not refer to the saints at all. Muḥammad Ghauthī records his disapproval of Minhāj's omission. Dīn-u'd-dīn Baranī refers to Bābā Farīd but in a casual way.<sup>5</sup> Later histories, like the *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi*,<sup>6</sup> of Muḥammad Bihārud Khan, compiled in 842 A H / 1438-39 A D, the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*,<sup>7</sup> *Furqān*<sup>8</sup> the *Abulāsat-u'-Tawārīkh*<sup>9</sup> and others give some notices of Bābā Farīd. All these works have been used in preparation of this life-sketch of Bābā Farīd. Detailed bibliography appears in Appendix F.

<sup>1</sup> It has not been published so far. My MS was copied in 1281 A H.

<sup>2</sup> Published by Newal Kishore, Lucknow, 1876.

<sup>3</sup> Printed at Thamar-i-Hind Press, Lucknow, 1873 A D.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by Nassau Lees & others Bib. Indica Calcutta 1864, another edition by A. Chaghtai Lahore 1932. English Translation by H. C. Raverty, Bib. Indica Calcutta, 1897.

<sup>5</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhi*, (edited by Sayyid Ahmad Khān, Bib. Indica Calcutta 1862), p. 112.

<sup>6</sup> MS in British Museum (Or 137) ff 144-146. Rotograph in Rewa College Library.

<sup>7</sup> Edited by Sayyid Ahmad Khān.

<sup>8</sup> Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

<sup>9</sup> Edited by K. B. Zafar Hasan, printed at J and Sons Press, Delhi, 1918.



## CHAPTER I

### Birth, Parentage and Ancestry

The 12th century of the Christian era was a period of stress and storm in 'Ajām. Powerful Turkish tribes were constantly pressing westwards in search of more living space (*lebensraum*). They established kingdoms and on pressure from the east moved further west. Every tribal movement was followed by a vast shifting of the population. Numerous ruling dynasties thus came to grief and many a prince left his home to hide his head in safer climes. Among the many unhappy people whom this terrible population-pressure uprooted from their homelands was one Qāḍī Shu'aib<sup>1</sup>. He left Kābul<sup>2</sup> and reached Lahore with his "three sons, followers, army and family",<sup>3</sup> probably owing to the Ghuzz invasion (552 A H / 1157 A D)<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 59. *Siyar-u'l-Aqāb*, p. 163. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrār* (MS) p. 542. *Ma'arif-u'l-Walāyah* (MS) Vol I, p. 49. Jamālī (*Siyar-u'l-'Arifin* p. 31. and, following him, *Firāhīyah* Vol II, p. 383) say that Jamāl-u-d-dīn Sulaimān was the first of the ancestors of Bābā Farīd to enter India.

<sup>2</sup> The author of *Maṭṭab-u'l-Tāribin* says that he came from Ghaznīn (f. 98a).

<sup>3</sup> Amīr Khurīd further says that Qāḍī Shu'aib's father was murdered by Chengiz Khān and it was under the pressure of the Mongols that Qāḍī Shu'aib had to leave his home. This does not appear to be correct. Qāḍī Shu'aib came to India before 1175 A D more than forty years before the Mongols occupied these territories. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 59. See also, *Mir'at-u'l-Asrār*, MS, *Ma'arif-u'l-Walāyah*, MS. The author of *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin* makes the curious statement:

پدر بزرگوار او جمال الدین سلیمان از طرف کابل در عهد سلطان شهاب الدین موری خواهرزاده سلطان محمود غزنوی در طرف ملتان آمده بود  
(His revered father Jamāl-u-d-dīn Sulaimān had come from Kābul, to the side of Multān during the reign of Sulṭān Shihāb-u-d-dīn Ghurī, who was the son of Sulṭān Mahmūd Ghaznawī's sister.)

The *Siyar-u'l-Aqāb* says:

پدر بزرگوار آنحضرت خواهرزاده سلطان محمود غزنوی است  
p. 163  
(The revered father of the saint was the son of Sulṭān Mahmūd Ghaznawī's sister.) *Firāhīyah*, with a better historical insight simplified it:

پدر . در عهد سلطان شهاب الدین موری از کابل به ملتان آمده  
Vol II, p. 383  
(His father came to Multān from Kābul during the reign of Sulṭān Shihāb-u-d-dīn Ghurī.)

<sup>4</sup> The migration of the Ghuzz to Muslim territory began towards the end of the 10th century. (See Barthold's article in *The Ency of Islam* II, pp. 168-169). In 548 A H / 1153 A D the Ghuzz tribes rose against Sulṭān Sanjar, took him prisoner and devastated Khurāsān and several other provinces. In 552 A H / 1157 A D they attacked Ghaznīn. Minhāj writers "A horde of the tribe of Ghuzz, who had acquired dominion and power in Khurāsān, in the reign of the august Sulṭān Satjar, marched an army against Ghaznī. Khurāsān Shāh was unable to resist them, and he accordingly retired into Hindustan, and Ghaznīn was lost to them, and fell into the hand of the Ghuzz. They retained possession of that territory for a period of twelve years" (Raverty, pp. 111-112).

It seems that the ancestors of Bābā Farīd came to India under the pressure of this Ghuzz irruption during the reign of Khusrav Shāh (ob. 559 A H / 1163 A D). Captain Wade places their arrival earlier. He says "The ancestors of Sheikh Farīd U'-dīn first came to Multān in the train of Behram Shāh of the Ghaznavī family" *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, March 1837*, pp. 192-193).

Qāḍī Shu'uib, however, did not find the gay atmosphere of Lahore congenial and moved to Qasūr.<sup>1</sup> The Qāḍī<sup>2</sup> of the place received him cordially and informed the Sultān about the circumstances under which the members of this distinguished family had to leave their homes and seek refuge in the Ghaznavid kingdom of Lahore. In a very sympathetic and polite message the Sultān asked him as to what service he could render them. Qāḍī Shu'uib, who had had enough of worldly glory, replied that he did not want any worldly office or rank. "We do not want to run after a thing which has been lost to us,"<sup>3</sup> said Qāḍī Shu'uib with mystic indifference. Nevertheless the Sultān<sup>4</sup> entrusted to them the Qāḍiship of Kahtwāl.<sup>5</sup> Qāḍī Shu'uib left Qasūr and settled at Kahtwāl.

One of the Qāḍī Shu'uib's three sons was named Jamāl-u'd-dīn-Sulaimān.<sup>6</sup> He married in Kahtwāl a daughter of Shaiḥ Wajih-u'd-dīn Khoyendī,<sup>7</sup> Qarsum Bibi by name. Farīd-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd was born sometime in 571 A.H./1175 A.D.<sup>8</sup> He was the second of the three sons of Jamāl-u'd-dīn—the eldest being 'Izz-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd,<sup>9</sup> and the youngest Najīb-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Mutawakkil.

According to Amīr Khurd, Qāḍī Shu'uib belonged to a ruling family of Kābul which had attained to greatest power under a king named

<sup>1</sup> Qasūr is 34 miles south-east of Lahore, and is a place of great antiquity. General Cunningham identified it with one of the places visited by Huen Tsang in the 7th century. *Imperial Gazetteer*, II, 'p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> The author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* makes that in his sense of justice, impartiality and gentlemanly behaviour the Qāḍī of Qasūr was the pride of the qāḍīs of the age (p. 59).

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> The author of *Ma'arij-u'l-Walāyat* makes a mistake when he writes

پس حلیہ دہلی تھا قصہ کہنوال لغویں دود

(MS Vol I p. 50)

Dehli had not yet been conquered. This appointment was made by the Ghaznavid ruler of Lahore.

<sup>5</sup> Kahtwāl was a town in the district of Multān between Mahārān and Ajodhan. To-day it is a small village known as Maghaikh-ku-Chāwāl. (See, "*Journal of Captain C. M. Wade's voyage*," in *J. A. S. B.*, March 1837, p. 193—"Chaw Mushaikh, a village on the banks of the Satlej.")

Kahtwāl is differently spelt in different works. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* gives Kahtwāl on p. 59 and Kahtwala on p. 62. *Khasr-u'l-Majdīs* (p. 219) has Kothiwal. The printed text of *Siyar-u'l-Arifin* (p. 32) has Khuluwāl, the MS (p. 46) gives Kothiwal. *Guīzar-i-Abrār* has Kotwal (MS). *Mir'at-u'l-Asrār* (MS, p. 542) has Khatwala. *Siyar-u'l-Aqḍāb*, (p. 163) has Khanwal and so on.

<sup>6</sup> Nothing is known about Shaiḥ Jamāl-u'd-dīn except that he was appointed Qāḍī of Kahtwāl after the death of his father and was buried in Kahtwāl. *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 32. *Ma'arij-u'l-Walāyat*, (MS).

<sup>7</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 32. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrār*, (MS) pp. 542-43. *Siyar-u'l-Aqḍāb* p. 164. *Rawḍat-i-Aqḍāb*, p. 58. No later or contemporary writer gives any information about Shaiḥ Wajih-u'd-dīn Khoyendī.

<sup>8</sup> There is some difference of opinion about his date of birth. The author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* says that he was born in 569 A.H. and that he attained the age of 95 years (p. 91). It appears from *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* that he lived for 93 years (p. 53). If we calculate on the basis of *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, the date of his birth would be 571 A.H. and not 569 A.H. as given by *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*. I have preferred *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* to *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*.

<sup>9</sup> The printed text of *Siyar-u'l-Arifin* (p. 32) wrongly gives his name as 'Izz-u'd-dīn Muḥammad.

Farrukh Shāh. When the Ghaznawid power rose Kābul was annexed by the Ghaznawids and the descendants of Farrukh Shāh were reduced to the position of ordinary citizens. History does not throw any light on this Farrukh Shāh. His status and position consequently remain a myth.<sup>1</sup>

Muhammad Ghauthi has traced the descent of Bābā Farid from the Caliph 'Umar\*. The author of *Siyar-u'l-Aqfāb* gives the following genealogical table

Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Mas'ud Ganj-i-Shakar

bin Shaikh Sulamān

bin Shaikh Shu'arib

bin Shaikh Muḥammad Aḥmad

bin Shaikh Yusuf

bin Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-din known as Farrukh Shāh Kābuli

bin Fakhr-u'd-din Mahmud

bin Sulamān

bin Shaikh Mas'ud

bin Shaikh 'Abd-u'llah Wā'iz-a'l-Aḡghar

bin Wā'iz-a'l-Akbar Abu'l Fath

bin Shaikh Ishāq

bin Shaikh Nāṣir

bin Shaikh 'Abd-u'llah

bin Amīr-u'l-Mummin 'Umār Fārūq\*

When Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Mas'ud saw the light of the day, the Ghaznawid Empire of Lahore was fast declining. Khusrav Malik, the last of the Ghaznawids, utterly unfitted to shoulder the burden of the State, had, according to Minhāj "abandoned himself wholly to pleasure

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp 58-59. All subsequent writers following *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, speak of Farrukh Shāh as the king of Kābul, while in the *Zubdat-u'l-Maḡāmāt* (Newal Kishore Press, 1307 A H) he is spoken of as a nobleman and a wazīr of the Sultāns of Kābul (p 88).

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, popularly known as Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thāni (ob 1034 A H /1624 A D) also traced his descent from Farrukh Shāh. *Zubdat-u'l-Maḡāmāt*, p 88.

\* *Gulsār-i-Abrār*, (MS)

Long ago a small brochure was published by the late Pir Sayyid Rasḥīd Ahmad Ruzwī Shāh under the title *A'lān-i-Sayyadāt-i-Farīd* (Rizwi Press, Amroha, 1332 A H) in which an attempt was made to prove that Bābā Farid was a Sayyid. His arguments have not been generally accepted.

\* *Siyar-u'l-Aqfāb*, p 163.

Genealogical tables as given by subsequent writers differ from one another. Cf. *Jamāhar-i-Farīd* (MS), *Khastnā-i-Aḡḡyā*, Vol I, p 287, and others. However, the tradition of Bābā Farid being a Fārūqī is so convincing that no discussion is necessary. The present writer is in possession of very interesting discussions and *fatwas* on this subject. The controversy was started by the author of *A'lān-i-Sayyadāt-i-Farīd*.

while the servants of the state and governors of the country exercised independent power"<sup>1</sup>

Shihāb-u'd-dīn, who had been appointed governor of Ghaznī in 569 A.H.<sup>2</sup> by his brother Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn began his encroachments on the Ghaznawid ruler's territories. He marched towards Multān in 571 A.H. and delivered it from the hands of the Carmathians.<sup>3</sup> A few years later he attacked Lahore, but "the affairs of the Mahmudi empire had now approached their termination, and the administration of that government had grown weak, Khusrāu Malik, by way of compromise, despatched one of his sons, and one elephant, to the presence of the Sultān-i-Ghazī"<sup>4</sup> Shihāb-u'd-dīn Ghūrī occupied Sialkot in 581 A.H. / 1185 A.D. and a year later dislodged the Ghaznawids from the Punjab. Khusrāu Malik was taken prisoner and sent to the castle of Balarwan in Qharjstān, where he was put to death in 588 A.H. / 1192 A.D.

Though the political power of the Ghaznawids declined and they were ultimately displaced by the more virile Ghurids, their occupation of the Punjab had changed the entire pattern of social life in that region. Eminent saints, poets, scholars and administrators had migrated to Lahore from distant parts of the Muslim world. Shaikh Husam Zanjānī,<sup>5</sup> Shaikh 'Alī Hujwiri,<sup>6</sup> Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān,<sup>7</sup> Albairunī,<sup>8</sup> Abu'l Farj Rūnī,<sup>9</sup> Sultān Saikhī Sarwar<sup>10</sup> and others made deep and far-reaching contributions to the religious and cultural life of the region. The Punjab became a half-way house between the Central Asian Muslim lands on one side and the flourishing Rājput kingdoms on the other. From the Punjab the Muslims filtered into the Gangetic valley and

<sup>1</sup> *Tadhkirat-i-Nasiri*, p. 76

<sup>2</sup> Raverty, p. 449

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 449

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 452

<sup>5</sup> *Tawā'id u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 35

<sup>6</sup> Shaikh 'Alī Hujwiri, popularly known as Datā Ganj Baksh (ob. after 1074 A.D.) came from Ghazni and settled in Lāhore where he wrote his famous book *Kashf-u'l-Mahjūb* (Persian text published from Gulzār-i-Hind Steam Press Lāhore, English translation by R. A. Nicholson London 1936)

<sup>7</sup> Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān (ob. 1121) was a notable poet of the Ghaznawid period. Amir Khusrāu informs us in his preface to the *Ghurras-u'l-Kamal* that Mas'ūd had left three *diwāns* — in Arabic, Persian and Hindi

<sup>8</sup> Abu Raḥmān Albairunī (973-1048) came to India during the reign of Sultān Mahmūd. He taught here the Greek sciences and in exchange made himself acquainted with the achievements of Hindu learning. The results of these studies he used for his great work *Kutāb-u'l-Hind*. See, Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* (Second edition 1953), Supplement p. 777-779

<sup>9</sup> Abu'l Farj Rūnī was an eminent poet of the later Ghaznawid period. He was born and educated in Lāhore (Rūm was a village in the Lahore district). Several poems of his *diwān* are addressed to Sultān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī (1059-1099) and Mas'ūd bin Ibrāhīm (1099-1114)

<sup>10</sup> Sultān Saikhī Sarwar was an eminent saint of Lāhore. He was held in high esteem by the Hindus. A Hindu tribe of the Punjab is known after his name as *Sulṭāns*

established small colonies at Ajmer,<sup>1</sup> Badā'ūn,<sup>2</sup> Qannauj,<sup>3</sup> Bahrā'ich<sup>4</sup> and other places.

<sup>1</sup> Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-din Chishtī settled at Ajmer before the conquest of Dehli *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 46

<sup>2</sup> Maulānā Rādī-u'd-din Hasan Ṣaghānī, the famous author of the *Maḥārīq-u'l-Anwār* was born in Badā'ūn (*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 103) in 1181 A.D., six years after the birth of Bābā Farid and ten years before the battle of Tarain

<sup>3</sup> See, H. S. Tripathi's *History of Qannauj*

<sup>4</sup> Sayyid Salār Mas'ūd Ghāzī's tomb belongs to the Ghaznawid period (*Barani*, p. 491) and the fact that his grave survived through the centuries that intervene between the Ghaznawid invasions and the Ghurian occupation of Northern India shows the existence of a Muslim population which kept alive the story of Salār's martyrdom and handed it to posterity

## CHAPTER II

### Childhood and Early Education

Bābā Farīd's first teacher whose influence was most lasting on him was his mother—Qarsum Bibī. It was she who kindled that spark of Divine Love in him which later dominated his entire being, and moulded his thought and action. Well has Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya remarked in this context: "A son is strongly influenced by the piety of his parents."<sup>1</sup>

Qarsum Bibī was a lady of fervent piety.<sup>2</sup> She kept awake all through the night engaged in her prayers. Numerous anecdotes relating to her piety and devotion are found in mystic works. One night thieves entered her house but were so moved by a hallow of piety and saintliness which radiated from her face that they repented of their sins and vowed to lead an honest life thereafter.<sup>3</sup>

Under the care of so pious and saintly a mother Bābā Farīd developed from his very childhood a spirit of intense devotion to God. When still in his adolescent years he became known in Kahtwāl for his deeply mystic bent of mind.

While on his way to Dehli, the eminent mystic Shāikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn Tabrizi<sup>4</sup> passed through Kahtwāl. He enquired from the people whether there was any mystic in the town. They replied in the negative but added that there was the Qādi's son, Farīd-u'd-dīn, who though commonly regarded as mad (*Qādi bachchan dīwānā*) was always busy in his devotions and prayers behind the city-mosque. Shāikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn went to see him. On the way some one presented a pomegranate to

<sup>1</sup> *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād* p. 121

<sup>2</sup> *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyār*, pp. 287-88. *Siyar-u'l-Aqāb*, p. 163-164, *Ma'arī u'l-Walāyat* MS.

<sup>3</sup> *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 121-22. In Jamālī's days the grave of this thief, who later became a saintly person was visited by people who sought his spiritual benedictions. *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 32. See also, *Siyar-u'l-Aqāb*, p. 164.

<sup>4</sup> Shāikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn Tabrizī was an eminent disciple of Shāikh Abu Sa'īd Tabrizī. After the death of his master he associated himself with Shāikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī and followed him on his long and arduous mystic itineraries. He was a very close friend of Shāikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā and Shāikh Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. When he reached Dehli, Ilutuzg gave him a hearty welcome and showed great respect to him. Najm-ud-dīn Suhrā, the Shāikh u'l-Islām of Dehli grew jealous of his influence and, in order to disgrace him in the eyes of the Sultan brought charges of adultery against him. These charges were proved to be utterly baseless but Shāikh Jalāl left for Bengal in disgust and said: "When I came to this city (Dehli) I was pure gold, but at this moment I am silver" (*Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 112). For his life see *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, pp. 164-171; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyār*, pp. 43-44. *Jawāma'u'l-Filām*, p. 25-26. *Gulār-i-Abdār* (MS), *Ma'arī u'l-Walāyat* (MS). See also *Shahashubhodaya* (A Sanskrit work dealing with legends about the Shāikh), edited with English Introduction by Sukmar Sena, Calcutta.

him Shaikh Jalāl took it as a present for Bābā Farīd and, breaking it, offered it to him. Bābā Farīd was fasting, and did not partake of it. When Shaikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn had left, he found a pomegranate seed lying on the ground. He picked it up, tied it to his handkerchief (*ḍastārchah*) and ate it at the time of *iftār*. This single seed caused a sudden spiritual illumination within him. He deeply regretted why he had not accepted the whole of the fruit which would have given him more spiritual blessings, but later when Bābā Farīd met Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār and expressed his regret at not having eaten the whole fruit, Shaikh Bakhtiyār remarked "All the spiritual blessings was in that one seed, it was destined for you and it reached you. There was nothing in the rest of the fruit."<sup>1</sup>

When young Farīd was talking to the eminent visitor from Tabriz, his trouser (*sarūwīl*) was in shreds and he had continually to hide one hole or the other. Shaikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn realized his anxiety and said "There was a *darwesh* in Bukhārā who was busy in education. For seven years he had no trousers (*izār*) and wore only a loin-cloth (*futah*). Do not be worried. See what happens!"

Though Bābā Farīd had not, as yet, gone out of Kahtwāl, his reputation had travelled far and wide. Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā, the famous Sulrawardī saint of Multān, expressed his desire to see him at this time.<sup>2</sup>

#### IN MULTAN

After finishing his early education in Kahtwāl, Bābā Farīd proceeded to Multān.<sup>3</sup> He was then only 18 years of age. He joined the *madrasah* in the mosque of Maulānā Minhāj-u'd-dīn Tirmidhī, near the Sarā'-i-Halwā'ī. Here he committed to memory the entire text of the Qur'ān and began to recite it once in twenty four hours.<sup>4</sup>

One day Bābā Farīd was reading *Nūṣa'*—a book on Muslim law. Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī had come to Multān from Aush and was staying in that mosque. Bābā Farīd's insight discerned in the visitor a spiritual teacher of infinite capabilities. Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn busied himself in prayers soon after his arrival and Bābā Farīd

<sup>1</sup> *Khawar-u'l-Majālis*, p. 219-220, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 62-63, *Jawama'-u'l-Islam*, p. 316. This remark of Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī is responsible for the practice amongst the *Chishtis* to eat the entire pomegranate, lest the sacred seed be missed.

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 62-63.

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 60. It is remarked in some *tadhkirahs* [*Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, p. 176, *Jawāḥir-i-Farīd* (MS)] that the mothers of both these saints were real sisters. There is nothing in contemporary records to support this.

<sup>4</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 60. Multān was, at that time, a great seat of Muslim learning. Ainur Khurd writes "In those days Multān was the *Qubbat-u'l-Islām* and erudite scholars were present there" (p. 60). Later, Qubāchah's unbounded generosity raised it to a pre-eminent position in the literary centres of the age.

<sup>5</sup> *Khawar-u'l-Majālis*, p. 220, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 60-61, *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, pp. 36, *Gulsār-i-Abrār* (MS), *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, p. *Rauḍah-i-Aqṭāb*, p. 58.

sat down near him with the book in his hand, eagerly waiting for the moment when the Shāikh would finish his prayers. After his prayers, the Khwāja turned towards him and asked sympathetically "Maulānā! What book is this?" "It is *Nāfa'*," replied Bābā Farid. "May there be *naf'* (benefit) for you in its study", said Khwāja Bakhtiyār. "There is benefit for me in your mercy and blessings," submitted Bābā Farid and then placed his head at the feet of the Khwāja and recited the following verses <sup>1</sup>

مقبول تو جز مقل جاوید نشد . و ر لطف تو هیچ بدو نوبید نشد  
عزت یکدام دره پیوست دمی کان ذره نه از هزار خورشید نشد

"He, who is approved by you, is approved eternally  
And no one is disappointed of your blessing  
Your mere attention to any particle, even for a while  
Makes it better than a thousand suns "

Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn was staying in the mosque when Shāikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā arrived. The Suhrawardī saint did not like the stay of Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn in Multān and considered it an undesirable intrusion into his own spiritual jurisdiction. The polite way of asking a saint to leave one's jurisdiction (*walāyat*) was to place his shoes in the direction one would like him to go. Shāikh Bahā u'd-dīn Zakariyyā did so and Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār, taking the hint, left for Dehli.<sup>2</sup> Bābā Farid accompanied him and was admitted into his discipleship at Dehli.<sup>3</sup> Amīn Khurd says that eminent persons like Qādi Hamid-u'd-dīn Nāgaūrī,<sup>4</sup> Maulānā 'Alā-u'd-dīn Kirmānī, Sayyid Nūr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Chaznāwī,<sup>5</sup> Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Abu'l Muway-

<sup>1</sup> *Khawr-u'l-Mayāṭis*, p. 220

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliyyā*, p. 61. Maulānā Jamālī, himself a Suhrawardī, says that Qubachah had requested Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn to settle permanently in Multān, but he refused with the remark "This region has been placed under the spiritual protection of Shāikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā and it will remain under him for ever." *Siyar-u'l-Aristā*, p. 20

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliyyā* p. 61. The author of *Siyar-u'l-Aristā* however says that he was initiated in Multān. He accompanied his master upto three stages only. Then the Shāikh asked him to go back to Multān with the remarks "Bābā Farid! Remain busy in external education along with this other worldliness and celibacy. Come to Dehli afterwards" (p. 30). Jamālī further adds that Bābā Farid was only 18 years at this time.

<sup>4</sup> Qādi Hamid-u'd-dīn was a disciple of Shāikh Shuhāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī. He was a close friend and companion of Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kāfi. His erudition and learning raised him in the estimation of his contemporaries. His works were numerous, but few have survived. He was extremely fond of *Semā'* (audition parties) and it is said that it was he who popularised it in Dehli. For biographical references, see *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār* p. 36-43, also *Futūḥ-u's-Salāḥ* p. 114.

<sup>5</sup> Sayyid Nūr u'd-dīn Mubārak Chaznawī was another eminent saint of the Suhrawardī order. He was the disciple of Shāikh Shuhāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī and was respected for his scholarship and learning. He established close personal contact with Ilutugh and was appointed *Shāikh-u'l-Islām* by him. The people of Dehli used to call him *Mīr-i-Dehli*. For brief biographical notices, see *Tārīkh-i-Futūḥ Shāhī*, Baranī, p. 41-44. *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 28-29, *Gulār-i-Abdār* (MS).



vid,<sup>1</sup> Maulānā Shams-u'd-dīn Turk and Khwāja Mahmūd Mu'inah Dōz<sup>2</sup> were present at the time of *bay'at* (initiation).<sup>3</sup>

According to the *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*,<sup>4</sup> Bābā Farīd remained in Multān and completed his education as his master had instructed him. Jamālī further states that the Shaikh went to Qandhār for higher studies and stayed there for five years.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Abu'l Muwayyid was an eminent contemporary of Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. His sermons were extremely effective and interesting. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā had, in his earlier days, seen him. Shaikh Jamāl who lies buried in Kol (Aligarh) was his descendant. See *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Khwāja Mahmūd Mu'inah Dōz was a disciple of Qāḍī Hamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaunī. He used to spend most of his time in the Khānqah of Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn. See *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, (p. 164) follows *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*. Allāh Diyāh says that the Shaikh continued to acquire knowledge in Multān for five years and then went to Dehli to be admitted into the discipline of Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.

<sup>5</sup> *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 36. According to Muḥammad Ghauthī he went to Seistān also (*Gulzar-i-Abrār* MS).

## CHAPTER III

### At the feet of Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī

Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī<sup>1</sup> (ob 633 A H / 1235 A D) at whose feet Bābā Farīd decided to lay his head was an outstanding mystic of his age. He was a native of Aush<sup>2</sup> which was a great centre of the Hallājīs<sup>3</sup> and was considerably influenced by the Wujūdī<sup>4</sup> doctrines. The Khwāja received his early training from his mother. Later he learnt the *Qur'ān* with Maulānā Abu Haṭṭ<sup>5</sup>.

After finishing his education at Aush, Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār turned towards Baghdād which was at that time the cultural centre of Islam. Here the discourses of such eminent mystics as Shāikh 'Abd-u'l-Qādir Gīlānī,<sup>6</sup> Shāikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī,<sup>7</sup> Khwāja

<sup>1</sup> For his life, see, *Siyar-u'l-Ashyā* pp 48-57, *Siyar-u'l-A'rafīn* pp 16-31, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, pp 24-26, *Gulār-i-Abrār* (MS), *Mir'at-u'l-Asrār*, (MS), *Siyar u'l-Aqṭāb*, pp 142-161 and *Rauḍah-i-Aqṭāb*, pp 3-30.

<sup>2</sup> Aush is a town in Farghānah south-east of Andījān. For Rābur's praise of the town, see *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* (King's Edition) Vol I, p 3. Prof. Louis Massignon wrote to me in a letter "I have published from the Russian translation of Yūdikov a Qaraqayrapghy text in praise of Hallāj (=Man-ur), in the *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 1946, 77-78, proving that Osh was a centre of the Mansuri Sūfīs."

<sup>3</sup> A Sūfī order named after the famous Persian mystic Abu'l Muḥith al-Husayn bin Manḡūr al-Hallāj (244-309 A H / 858-922 A D). The doctrines of the Hallājīya order may be thus summarised:

a. in *Fiqh* the five *farā'id*, even the Ḥajj may be replaced by other works (*isqat-a'l-wasa'if*)

b. in *Kalām*, God's transcendence (*tanazzūh*) above the limits of creation (*Ma'arūf*) the existence of an uncreated Divine spirit (*ruh* i-*Nāṭiqah*) which becomes united with the created *Rūh* (spirit) of the ascetic (*ṭawāṣṣ-i-l-ākhūfi'ī-nāsūt*), the saint becomes the living and personal witness of God, whence the saying *An'i-Haqq* "I am creative Truth."

c. in *Isawwuf*, perfect union with the divine will through desire of and submission to suffering.

<sup>4</sup> The doctrine of *Wahdūt-u'l-Wujūd* means that God and the Universe are not two separate entities, but form one unity. Existent is one. This soul becomes identityism—that it is identical with everything else, which in the end passes on to pantheism,—that it is God and God is all. Shāikh Muḥi-u'd-dīn Ibn-i-'Arabī (ob 638 A H / 1240 A D) was its powerful exponent and the Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thānī (ob 1034 A H / 1624 A D) was its firm opponent. For details see Dr Burhān Ahmad Farūqī's *The Mujaddid's Conception of Tauḥīd*, (published by Shāikh Muḥammad Aḥraf, Lahore).

<sup>5</sup> *Khair u'l-Majlis*, p 108.

<sup>6</sup> Shāikh 'Abd-u'l-Qādir Gīlānī (1077-1166 A D) was the founder of the Qādiri order of mystics. He was an erudite scholar, with a keen intuition and a clear and unerring judgement. His sermons had a magical effect on the audience. In these sermons, "he figures as an earnest, sincere and eloquent preacher" (Margoliouth). The following collections of his sermons are very well known: *Fawa'id-u'l-Ghaib* (Cairo, 1304), *Al-Jath-us-s-Rabbānī* (1302). His biographical details may be read in *Shatṭanawfī's Bahjat u'l-Asrār* (Cairo, 1304), and *Ḍahabī's Tārīkh-i-Isām* (published in *J R A S*, 1907) p 267 at seq.

<sup>7</sup> Shāikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī, (1145-1234 A D) was an eminent saint of the Suhrawardī order. His best known works are the *'Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif* and the *Kaḡh-u'l-Nasā'ih-i-imāmyak-wa-Kashf-u'l-Fadā'ih-u'l-yunāniyah*. See also, *Nafahāt-u'l-Uns* pp. 367-308.

Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī,<sup>1</sup> Shaikh Aḥmad-u'd-dīn Kirmānī,<sup>2</sup> Qāḍī Hamīd-u'd-dīn<sup>3</sup> and others drew large audiences and exercised considerable influence on Muslim thought and ways. Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī met Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī in the mosque of Imām Abū Laith Samarqandī in Baghdād and was so deeply impressed by the spiritual greatness of the saint that he became his disciple.<sup>4</sup>

When Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī proceeded to India, Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn also followed him by a different route. He stayed in Multān for some time, and then left for Dehli. Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn's arrival in Dehli synchronizes with a very important phase in the history of India's great capital. To this city flocked eminent Muslim saints, divines and scholars from all sides and the enlightened and liberal patronage of Sulṭān Iltutmish offered them a safe haven of refuge.<sup>5</sup> When Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī reached Dehli from Multān, Iltutmish heartily welcomed him and requested him to stay near his palace. The Khwāja having refused, Iltutmish made it a point to visit his Khānqah outside the city twice a week.<sup>6</sup> Once the Khwāja thus advised the Sulṭān

"O ruler of Dehli! It is incumbent on thee to be good to all poor people, mendicants, durweshes and helpless folk. Treat all men kindly and strive for their welfare. Everyone who thus behaves towards his subjects is looked after by the Almighty and all his enemies turn into friends."

Iltutmish offered to him the post of *Shaikh-u'l-Islām*, but the saint declined to accept it.<sup>7</sup> On his refusal Shaikh Najm-u'd-dīn Sughra was appointed to this post. A vain and conceited man, Sughra could not tolerate the presence of anybody more influential than himself at the court and so he maliciously and unscrupulously tried to run people down. He brought the charge of adultery against Shaikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn Tabrizī.<sup>8</sup> He was equally jealous of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn who was revered

<sup>1</sup> Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī, the famous founder of the Chishtī Salsalāh in India. For his life *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 45-48, *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 4 et seq., *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār*, pp. 22-24.

<sup>2</sup> Shaikh Aḥmad-u'd-dīn Hamīd al Kirmānī was an eminent disciple of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn Albaharī and had associated with the great mystic Shaikh Muhi-u'd-dīn Ibn-i 'Arabi who has referred to him in his famous work, *Futuhāt-i-Meccah*. For brief biographical notice, see *Nafahāt-u'l-Uns*, p. 385-387.

<sup>3</sup> See note Supra.

<sup>4</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> *Tabaqāt-i-Nawvī*, p. 166, *Futuh-u's-Salāṭin*, p. 100-110.

<sup>6</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> *Risālah-i-Hāl-Khawwadah-i-Chishtī*, MS, f. 17 b.

<sup>8</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 21. Jamālī says that this offer was made after the death of Maulānā Jamāl-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Bustāmī (p. 21), but this does not seem to be correct. It appears from a perusal of *Tabaqāt-i-Nawvī* (Raverty p. 702) that Maulānā Bustāmī survived Iltutmish and was appointed *Shaikh-u'l-Islām* by Sulṭān Nāsur-u'd-dīn Muḥammad in 653 in A.H.

<sup>9</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Arifin* p. 167, *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 43, *Gulzar-i-Abrār* (MS).

by the Sultān and the people alike.<sup>1</sup> Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī who happened to be present in Dehli, was bitterly incensed at this, and asked his disciple to leave Dehli and accompany him to Amjer. The news of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn's departure deeply afflicted the public of Dehli. When the Khwāja and his disciple set out for Ajmer, the people of Dehli went in their wake for miles. Iltutmish himself followed the two saints. Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn was deeply touched when he found the ruler and the ruled equally grieved. He allowed Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn to remain in Dehli. Iltutmish was immensely pleased, he kissed the feet of Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn and brought Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn back to the Capital.<sup>2</sup>

Bābā Farīd continued to live with Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and under his inspired guidance traversed the difficult stages of the mystic path. The Khwāja assigned him a small cell in his Khānqah.<sup>3</sup> Young Farīd busied himself in devotions and prayers in that lonely corner. Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn used to supervise his work with keen and sympathetic interest. While his other disciples visited him very frequently, Bābā Farīd saw his master only twice a month.<sup>4</sup>

Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī happened to visit Dehli again. When he saw<sup>5</sup> Bābā Farīd he remarked "Bābā Bakhtiyār! You have caught a noble falcon which will not build its nest except on the holy tree of Heaven. Farīd is a lamp that will illuminate the *Silsilah* of the *durweshes*."<sup>6</sup> Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn then asked his disciple to bestow spiritual gifts and blessings on Bābā Farīd, but Shaikh

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 54

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 54-55, *Jawami'-u'l-Kilam*, p. 208

<sup>3</sup> The author of *Siyar-u'l-Arifin* writes (p. 30)

"در نزدیک دروازۀ غربی مسجد در زیر آن برج مسجد ساخته"

(There is a tower near the Western Gate (مسجد) constructed his *kuyrah* under that tower)

The author of *Jawami'-u'l-Kilam* quotes Sayyid Muhammad Ghasi Jarāz who said that Bābā Farīd had busied himself in penitences (p. 230)

"در مسجد دہلی نزدیک دروازۀ مسجد"

(In Masjid-i-Dehli, near the Māndah gate)

<sup>4</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 187, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* n. 61. Allah Diyah however, says that he used to visit him Shaikh every week. (*Siyar-u'l-Aqtab*, p. 164)

<sup>5</sup> The author of *Siyar-u'l-Aqtab* develops the event thus. When Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn Hasan Sijzi visited Dehli, Qutb-u'l-Aqtāl presented his disciples to him and everyone received his blessings according to his merit. Later Sultān u'l-'Arifin asked "Bābā Qutb-u'd-dīn! Is there any other disciple of yours?" Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn replied "There is one Mas'ūd by name who is sitting in *Chilah*. Hadrat Sultān-u'l-'Arifin got up and said "Come along and let us see him." Both the saints went to his cell and opened the door. Hadrat-i-Ganj-i-Shakar was so weak that he could not get up to pay his respects to the saints. Helplessly and with tears in his eyes he placed his head on the ground. When Sultān-u'l-'Arifin saw this he said "Qutb-u'd-dīn! How long will you burn this poor fellow in the fire of penitence?" (pp. 165-166) The last sentence only occurs in *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, (p. 72)

<sup>6</sup> *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 23

Qutb-u'd-dīn apologized that in the presence of his master he could not have the courage to bestow anything on him. Thereupon both the saints blessed Bābā Farīd. It was a unique honour in the history of the Chishtī Silsilah. No saint before him, or even after, was thus blessed by the master and the master of his master.<sup>1</sup>

One day Bābā Farīd submitted to his master "If the Shaikh permits me I will keep a *Chillah*."<sup>2</sup> "There is no need of it," replied Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn disapproving of the idea, "Such things lead to publicity. Our saints have not done anything like this." "It is known to the Shaikh's intuitive mind," submitted Bābā Farīd, "that fame is not my object."<sup>3</sup> Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn did not press his point further. He advised his young disciple to perform *Chillah-i-Ma'kūs*.<sup>4</sup> Bābā Farīd did not know the real nature of that *Chillah*, while due to the awe (*mahābat*) in which he stood in relation to his master, he had not the courage to inquire from him. He went to Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī<sup>5</sup> and asked him about it. Shaikh Ghaznawī was ignorant of it himself, so he asked the Shaikh who replied "*Chillah-i-Ma'kūs* means that a man should tie a rope round his feet

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Awliyā* p. 72. Amīr Khurd thus pays tribute to Bābā Farīd

بخشش کو پی ارشیدین شد در باب تو      نادرشاهی یافتی زین نادرشاهان رهبان  
صنعت دنیا و دین گشتم مسلم مروتا      عالم کن گشتم اقطاع تو ای شاه جهان

(The two saints have bestowed the two worlds on thee,  
Thou hast received kingship from these kings of the age,  
The realms of this and the other world certainly belongs to thee,  
The entire creation has been, in fact, assigned to thee.)

These verses were composed by Amīr Khurd at the time of compiling his *Siyar-u'l-Awliyā*, years after the death of Bābā Farīd, but the author of *Siyar-u'l-Awliyā* (p. 166) wrongly says that they were recited extempore by a poet at the time when the two Shaikhs conferred their spiritual blessings on Bābā Farīd. Allah Dīyah further states that later, in an assembly in which Qāḍī Hamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, Maulānā 'Alī Kirmānī, Sayyid Nūr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Ghaznawī, Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Abul Muwayyid, Maulānā Shams-u'd-dīn Turk and Maulānā Mahmūd Mu'īna Doz were present, Khwāja Ajmerī bestowed upon Bābā Farīd his robe and Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn conferred his *dashtār* (turban) and other articles of *Khalīfat* (p. 166). The names of the persons have been borrowed from *Siyar-u'l-Awliyā* (p. 61) but Amīr Khurd does not say that Khwāja Ajmerī was present in this meeting. He simply says that these persons were present when Bābā Farīd was initiated into his discipline by Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn.

<sup>2</sup> *Chillah* means segregation for forty days in order to purify one's inner self and brighten the spiritual sensibilities through continued devotions and fasts.

<sup>3</sup> Bābā Farīd regretted throughout his life his arrogant audacity in making a request which the Shaikh did not like. *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter IV.

<sup>5</sup> Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī was a distinguished disciple and *Khalīfah* of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kāfī. For years he lived at Delhi and enjoyed the company of his master. He was a poet of eminence and the author of *Siyar-u'l-Awliyā* refers to his *Diwān*, which is extinct now. He was an eloquent preacher also. Qāḍī Minhāj-u's-Sirāj, author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* used to call him "*The White Falcon*." For his life, see *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 73-74, *Siyar-u'l-Awliyā*, pp. 164-166, *Khawar-u'l-Majālis*, pp. 187-188, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 30, *Rawḍat-i-Aḡḡab*, pp. 71-72, *Mawāt-u'l-Asrār*, MS., *Gulzar-i-Abdār*, MS.

and suspending himself downwards in a well, worship God for forty days or forty nights."<sup>1</sup>

It is not clear from our medieval records as to how many times Shāikh Farid visited Dehli to see his master, and how long he stayed with him each time. It is, however, certain that he completed his spiritual training under him. One day a visitor asked Sayyid Muḥammad Gēsū Darāz: "How did Shāikh Qutb-u'd-dīn train Shāikh Farid-u'd-dīn?" The Sayyid replied that Shāikh Farid had joined Shāikh Qutb-u'd-dīn's discipline after acquiring complete spiritual ability (*islā'dād-i-tamām*). He needed little instruction and so he did not live with the Shāikh for a long time.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Awliyā*, pp 68-69. One day when Sayyid Muḥammad Gēsū Darāz was telling his audience about this *Chillah* of Bābā Farid, a man asked, "How is it that blood does not run out of the eyes and mouth of the person who performs it and how food and other things do not come out of him?" The saint replied that there was no question of blood or food in the dried and emaciated body of a saint—reduced to mere skeleton by prayers and penitences. *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilām* p 231.

<sup>2</sup> Sayyid Muḥammad Gēsū Darāz (ob. 825 A.H./1421 A.D.) was a famous disciple and Khalfah of Shāikh Naṣir-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehli. He settled at Gulbargah (in Hyderabad-Deccan) and propagated the teachings of his *shaykh*. He was a prolific writer and wrote more than two dozen books on different aspects of religion and mysticism. His conversations have been recorded in the *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilām* by Sayyid Muḥammad Husaini. For biographical notices, see *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār* pp 129-134, *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrar* (MS), *Siyar-i-Muhammadi*, by Shāh Muḥammad 'Alī Sāmānī, (Printed at Unāul Dawākhānah Press, Sabzi Mandi, Allahabad).

<sup>3</sup> *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilām*, p 230.

## CHAPTER IV

### Prayers and Penitences

*Ma'rifat* (gnosis) being the *summum bonum* of a mystic's life, methods were explored through which *wasl* (union) could be achieved. The heart<sup>1</sup> was considered to be the only medium which could set the Finite in tune with the Infinite. The entire mystic journey in all its stages had to be undertaken with the help of heart (قلوب), and it was through prayers and penitences that it could be made responsive to divine messages.<sup>2</sup>

"All the Shakhhs of India", remarks Muhammad Qhauthi, "are unanimous in declaring that no saint has excelled Ganj-i-Shakar in his devotions and penitences"<sup>3</sup> In fact his life is one long story of prayers, vigils and fasts.<sup>4</sup> These penitences not only purified his inner life but opened his soul to the indwelling power of God

<sup>1</sup> For heart, as the centre of the cosmic emotions, see *Risālah-i-Mal'ūb-fi-'Ishq-i'l-Mahbūb*, written by Muhammad Amīr Māh during the reign of Firūz Shāh Tughlaq (752-790 A.H./1351-88 A.D.) Also *Lawā'ih*, translated by Whinfield and Qarwini, pp. 4-5. *Misbah-u'l-Hidāyah wa-Misfāh-u'l-Kifāyah*, pp. 97-101.

<sup>2</sup> The value of these practices in spiritual ascension has been very well discussed by Shāh Wah-u'l-lah of Dehli in his *Hujjat-u'llah-il-Balighah*, *Tafhimāt-i-Ilāhiyah* and *Qawl-u'l-Jamīl*. See also *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, (p. 150) where Bhaik Naṣir-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Delhi remarks "Mu'yāhidah (self-mortification) first, mu'yāhidah (Vision of Reality) afterwards".

<sup>3</sup> *Gulzar-i-Abrār*, MS, *Iqtibās-u'l-Anwār* (MS) (166 a).

<sup>4</sup> "All Aqshar gives the following account of his penitences. Bābā Farid went into the jungle and lived there for ten years subsisting mainly on leaves of trees. When he returned home his mother asked him about his achievements during the period. Bābā Farid said that he had not taken anything except the leaves of trees. Then his mother began to comb his hair affectionately with her fingers. Bābā Farid's head which had not been cleaned and combed for years, began to ache. "Farid! You have wasted your time and have achieved nothing" cried out his mother when she found him sensitive to pain. Bābā Farid again left his home and wandered in jungles for years. He tied a round piece of wood to his empty belly. When anyone asked him about his food he would reply that he had taken it. When he returned to his mother and told her all this she said "You have spoken lies all through. You have therefore wasted this period also" (*Jawāhar-i-Faridi*, MS).

This account is full of exaggerations. Had he roamed about for twenty or thirty years in jungles, our earlier authorities would not have failed to note this fact. In later *tadhkirahs*, particularly the *Jawāhar-i-Faridi*, hyperbolic and exaggerated statements appear frequently. He is stated to have lived for 120 years. His *Chuliah-i-Ma'kūs* which lasted for forty days has been stated to have lasted ten years.

'All Aqshar had seen the *qurs-i-Chubin* in 1036 A.H./1626 A.D. in the Dargāh of Bābā Farid. Probably he is the first writer to refer to them.

When Captain Wade visited Pāk-Pattān in 1832 he was shown several relics, "among which the most curious was a round flat piece of wood of the size and shape of an Indian bread or *Chapati*. In the long fasts which the saint imposed on himself, he is said to have soled his hunger by gnawing this hard substance" (*J.A.S.B.*, 1837, p. 192). These *qurs-i-chubin* have been carefully preserved and may be seen even today.

Bābā Farid as we have seen, was drawn to a life of prayers and fasts by his mother. He was very fond of sugar and every time that he offered his obligatory prayers, his mother gave him some sugar. Later, when Bābā Farid's interest in prayers developed and he subjected himself to severe spiritual exercises, his mother proved to be a very hard task master.

When Shaiḥ Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī ordered Shaiḥ Farid to perform the *Chillah-i-Ma'kūs*<sup>1</sup> (The Inverted *Chillah*), he began to search a lonely place with a mosque and a well near it. Fame was something which he despised and hated, and it was very difficult to find a place where all his devotions would remain unnoticed by the people. His search for such a place in Dehlī proving vain, he turned towards Hānsī. There too he could not find a lonely corner with the necessary atmosphere to perform the *Chillah*. He wandered from town to town and from village to village in search for a proper place for his *Chillah*. At last he reached Uchh. Here he found a mosque—Masjid-i-Hajj<sup>2</sup>—in a calm and quite part of the town, with a well over which spread the branches of trees, and a good *mu'adhdhin*,<sup>3</sup> Khwāja Raghib-u'd-dīn Minā'i, who was a native of Hānsī and had great faith in Bābā Farid. In order to satisfy himself fully whether the *mu'adhdhin*

<sup>1</sup> It has been stated in *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* that Shaiḥ Abū Sa'id Abū'l-Ḥāir used to say that whatever he heard about the Prophet's manner of offering prayers he himself did that. He came to know that the Prophet had offered *Namāz-i-Ma'kūs*, and he hastened to do the same (p. 7). In *Asrār-u'l-Tawḥīd-i-Ma'qāmāt-i-Shaiḥ Abī Sa'id*, by Muhammad bin Munawwar, a grandson of Shaiḥ Abī Sa'id (Tehran Edition, 1313 A.H.) we find references to *Salāt-i-Ma'kūs* being offered by the Shaiḥ, but I have not been able to find any reference to *Namāz-i-Ma'kūs* in standard collections of Ahādīth. The author of *Ma'arif-u'l-Walāyat* says that a visitor had questioned Shaiḥ Naṣir-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehlī about the legality of the *Namāz-i-Ma'kūs* and the latter had replied

در وقت علم ظاهر ندیدم

(I have not found it in books of 'ilm-i-zāhir (Shari'at). In *Ja'sama'-u'l-Kilām* the same question is attributed to a visitor of Sayyid Muhammad Ghasi Darāz (p. 234).

The only other Chishtī saint who is reported to have performed *Namāz-i-Ma'kūs* is Khwāja Abū Muhammad Chishtī (*Siyar u'l-Awliyā* p. 40).

Shah Waḥ-u'llah writes

المشقة ملوة تسمى ملوة المعكوس لم نجد من السنة ولا أقوال الفقهاء ما يشهد  
به لذلك حديثاً أو العلم عند الله. *Qaul-u'l-Jamīl*, p. 93.

(And there is a *namāz* among the Chishtīs, known as *Salāt-i-Ma'kūs*. We could not find any authority for it in the Traditions of the Prophet or in the sayings of the jurists. We therefore did not discuss it here. Its legality or otherwise is known to God alone.)

The manner of performing the *Salāt-i-Ma'kūs* has been described in detail by the author of *Ma'arif-u'l-Walāyat*. Among the Hindus there is a class of Sadhus known as *Urdhamukhi* about whom it is said that they hang their heads downwards suspended from the bough of a tree or a suitable framework and pray. J. C. Oman, *The Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India*, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Amir Khurd who compiled his book in 1353 A.D. informs us that this mosque was in tact till his time and people used to pray in that mosque. *Siyar u'l-Awliyā*, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> One who assembles the people to prayers by proclamation from minaret or tower of a mosque.



could be entrusted with a secret, Bābā Farid stayed there for three days and watched the ways of Khwāja Minā'i. Then, one day after 'Ishā prayers, he asked the *mu'adhdhin* to bring him a rope. One end of the rope was tied to his feet and the other to a branch of the tree over the well. The *mu'adhdhin* then lowered him into the well. The Shaikh requested the *mu'adhdhin* to come before dawn and pull the rope up. The Shaikh prayed in that position throughout the night. In the early hours of the morning the *mu'adhdhin* pulled up the rope and the Shaikh continued his prayers on the floor. In this way the Shaikh performed his *Chillah* for forty nights.<sup>1</sup>

Later writers have used this *Chillah* as a basis for weaving fantastic stories round the Shaikh and about his penitences. 'All Asghar gives a romantic touch to the whole episode when he says that birds had built their nests on the body of Shaikh Farid.<sup>2</sup> This is good fiction but not sober history. The picture which emerges from works like *Jawāhar-i-Faridī* and the fabricated *Malfuzāt* is certainly not the picture of Shaikh-u'l-Islām Farid-u'l-Haqq-Wad-din as described by Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya. The ascetic elements which dominate all these accounts do not give us the true personality of the great saint. At no place in the contemporary works do we find the saint overpowered by that spiritual intoxication (*sukr*) in which one loses control of himself, the Bābā Farid of *Rāhat-u'l-Qulūb* and *Fawā'id-u's-Sulākin* is incompatible of the Shaikh Farid of real history.

The inspiring motive of Bābā Farid's devotions and penitences was neither the hope of Heaven nor the fear of Hell. It sprang out of his intense love for his Lord. His heart was 'Love's feverous citadel' and he prayed and fasted day and night because he wanted to break all obstructions which stood between him and his Beloved. Whether in Kathwāl, Hānsi, Dehli, Uchh or Ajodhan he was always absorbed in his prayers.

Early during his contact with Khwāja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyār Kāki he was advised to follow the mystic principle of Tavy<sup>3</sup> and to break the fast only when something from an unforeseen source was bestowed on him. Bābā Farid fasted for three days continuously and

<sup>1</sup> *Siyyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 70

It appears from *Jawāma-u'l-Kilām* (p. 231) that the Shaikh continued this *Chillah* in the day also and came out only to offer his obligatory prayers. There is nothing in our contemporary records to support this. Amir Khurd definitely says

”رین چهل شب چهل معکوس داشت“

“in this way he kept *Chillah-i Ma kūs* for forty nights.”

The author of *Jawāhar-i-Faridī* extends the period of this *Chillah* to ten years. In a *Malfūz* of Shaikh Hussām-u'd-din Manikpuri the period is stretched to 6 months. (See, *Ma arif-u'l-Waliyat*, MS)

<sup>2</sup> ”کدچکان در ادوهای مدارک ایشان جا ساخته“ *Jawāhar-i-Faridī*, (MS)

<sup>3</sup> Literally *Tavy* (v u of طوی) means 'fasting voluntarily'. In mystic parlance it means fasting for three days in such a way that nothing is taken at the *isfār* time except three or four drops of water. (*Ghiyāth-u'l-Luqāhāt*, p. 277).

got nothing with which he could break his fast. On the third day a man brought some bread to him. The Shaikh broke his fast. Soon afterwards he saw a kite with intestines of some animal in her beak. This sight was so repulsive for him that he vomitted whatever he had taken. When he reported the matter to his Shaikh, he said "Farid you have broken your fast with the bread brought by a drunkard. By God's grace that meal did not stay in your stomach. Go and observe your fast for three days again. Break your fast with whatever comes from the Ghaib (the unknown)" Bābā Farid again fasted for three days. Weakness overpowered him and his empty stomach began to burn. He picked up a few pebbles and put them in his mouth. These pebbles turned into sugar.<sup>1</sup> The Shaikh thought it to be the trick of the devil. He threw away the pebbles and again busied himself in devotions. At midnight he was again tortured by the cravings of an empty stomach. He again picked up the pebbles and put them in his mouth. Again they turned into sugar. He again thought it to be the devil's trick and threw them away. In the small hours of the morning he thought that if he did not eat anything, he would not be able even to perform his morning prayers. He picked up the pebbles and swallowed them once more. Next morning he narrated the whole story to his master who remarked, "You did the right thing in breaking your fast with them. Whatever comes from the Ghaib is good. Go. You will be sweet like sugar!" Amir Khurd says that this was the reason for calling him Pir-i-Shakarbār, or Ganj-i-Shakar.

"Fasting", says Imām Qhazzālī "is one-half of self-control and self-control is one-half of faith".<sup>2</sup> Bābā Farid considered frequent fasting almost indispensable for spiritual progress. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā informs us that the saint seldom missed his fasts<sup>4</sup> and these fasts were kept in this way that the Shaikh did not take anything at saḥr.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 67

Amir Khurd quotes a verse from Saḥā'ī

سنگ در دست تو گهر گردد  
زهر در کام تو شکر گردد

(Stone turns into a pearl in thy hand, poison becomes sugar in thy mouth)

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 67-68, *Jawāhar-i-Farīd* (MS), *Siyar-u'l-Iqbal*, p. 154-165, *Ma'arif-u'l-Walāyat* (MS)

<sup>3</sup> *Kimsa-i-Sa'adat*, (Lucknow 1907 A.D.), Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā quotes this remark of Imām Qhazzālī from his *Ihyā-u'l-'Ulūm Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 75

<sup>4</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 401. In his earlier years the Shaikh used to keep *Rosāh-i-Da'ūdī* (*Rosāh-i-Da'ūdī* means keeping fasts on alternate days. It is easier to keep continuous fasts because in that case the system gets accustomed to it and fasting becomes a matter of routine, but fasting on alternate day is extremely exacting and painful. See *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 21). One day a guest from Meerut, Shaikh 'Alī, came to Hānsī to see Bābā Farid. Bābā Farid took his meal with the visitor who thought "It would have been excellent had the Shaikh been a constant faster. The Shaikh's intuitive mind divined what was passing into his mind and holding back his hand from the food said "I shall keep constant fasts from now." *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 64

<sup>5</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 386

Several times in his life Bābā Farīd thought of going on the Hajj pilgrimage. Once he even went up to Uchch, but returned home when suddenly it came to his mind that his master Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār had not performed the Hajj pilgrimage and that it would not be proper for him to depart from his tradition<sup>1</sup>

Bābā Farīd's life at Ajodhan was a chequered one. There were times when enormous *futūḥ* (unasked for charity) came to his Khānqah. There were occasions when the entire household had to starve. Sometimes the youngsters of the house reached the point of death owing to continuous starvation. The Shaikh's attendants and disciples stood by him and bore all the hardships with a cheerful heart. They would go to the jungles pick up *pelu* and *delah*<sup>2</sup> and prepare meals for themselves and their master. Neither affluence nor scarcity had any effect on the kind of life that the Shaikh had adopted. Whatever his external condition, he devoted himself with singleness of purpose to Him and Him alone. His love stricken heart cried out

I Love Thee I love Thee

'T is all that I can say,

It is my vision in the night,

My dreaming in the day

The very echo of my heart,

The blessing when I pray,

I love Thee I love Thee

Is all that I can say

To see the Shaikh saying his prayers was a thrilling spiritual experience. When alone in his room he would lay his head on the ground for hours and recite<sup>3</sup>

ار بہر تو میمیرم و برای تو زیم

(I die for Thee and live for Thee)

in a manner that would move the soul of the listener. He used to advise his disciples to read this couplet in their *munājāt* (Prayers to God):

ار حضرت تو سر چیز میخواستم

وقت خوش و آب دیده و راحت دل

(Oh Lord! I want three things from Thee,

Happy time, tears and repose of heart).

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 407

<sup>2</sup> Wild fruits of thorny plants found in the Punjab and used as food

<sup>3</sup> *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* p. 302, *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 224

<sup>4</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 423-24

## CHAPTER V

### Itineracy

Travelling was an essential part of mystic discipline in the middle ages. It had a number of advantages. Firstly, it brought the mystics in touch with men of different temperaments, living under different climes and under different conditions. The mystic gained intimate knowledge of human nature, a knowledge which helped him a lot in dealing with men when he settled down at one place with the determination to guide the faltering steps of his fellow human beings. Secondly, when a mystic abandoned his home and started on his travels, all those ties that bind man to a particular region are thereby narrow down his sympathies and his vision were automatically broken. Maulānā 'Izz-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd bin 'Alī Kāghānī has discussed in detail the benefits accruing out of mystic travels.<sup>1</sup> The great Chishtī saints—Shaiḫ 'Uṭhmān Harvānī, Shaiḫ Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī and Shaiḫ Quṭb-u'd-dīn—had travelled extensively for years. The apocryphal *Malfūz* literature ascribes to Bābā Farīd extensive tours of Muslim 'Ajam. He is reported to have visited Baghdād, Bukhāra, Siwistan, Badakhshōn, Kirmān, Qandhār and Ghaznīn,<sup>2</sup> and met Shaiḫ Shihāb-u'd-dīn Subrawardī, Khwāja Ajal Shīrāzī, Shaiḫ Saif-u'd-dīn Bāgharī, Shaiḫ Aḥmad-u'd-dīn Kirmānī and others. So far as India is concerned, he is taken to Kashmir, Mālwah, Ajmer etc.

The problem of Bābā Farīd's travels deserves careful study in the light of the following facts—

1. Our earliest authorities—*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, *Khawā'ir-u'l-Majālis* and *Siyar-u'l-Ashyā'*—do not say a single word about the Shaiḫ's peregrinations in lands abroad. If Bābā Farīd travelled so extensively as the fabricated *Malfūz* literature would have us believe, why did Amīr Hasan and Anūr Khurd not mention the fact? Later writers, like Jamālī, 'Alī Asghar, Allāh Dryāh and others mention the saint's travels in other lands. Their only source of information is, of course, the apocryphal literature of the period and the legends and stories which have been handed down to them.

2. The time when Bābā Farīd is supposed to have undertaken his travels in foreign lands was a period of terrible turmoil. The Mongol

<sup>1</sup> See *Misbāḥ-u'l-Hidāyah-wa-Misbāḥ-u'l-Fisfāyah*, edited by Jalāl-u'd-dīn Humā'ī pp. 203-269.

<sup>2</sup> *Rūḥat-u'l-Qulūb*, (MS) *Rūḥat-u'l-Muḥibbīn* (MS), *Asrār-u'l-Anḥiā* (MS). Following these works, Abū'l Fadl (*Ā'in-i-Akbarī*), Jamālī (*Siyar-u'l-Arifīn* p. 48) and Ghauthī (*Gulshār-i-Abrār* MS) have referred to Bābā Farīd's travels in foreign lands.

irruption had destroyed flourishing Muslim towns and "the cultural centres of eastern Islām were practically wiped out of existence leaving bare deserts or shapeless ruins where formerly stately palaces and libraries had lifted their heads<sup>1</sup>" Even in the days when Ibn-i-Battūṭah visited Bukhāra, Samargand, Balkh and other Transoxianan cities, he found them still largely in ruins. Under such conditions there was no question of trade travels, pleasure trips or mystic itineraries. An endless stream of refugees was pouring into India from those lands.<sup>2</sup>

3 Bābā Farid's spiritual teacher being in India, it was hardly necessary for him to roam about in distant lands with unsettled conditions.

In view of these facts it seems highly improbable that Bābā Farid undertook any journey to foreign lands. The only exception that can be made is, of course, his journey to Qandhār to complete his education there in the last decade of the twelfth century.

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Arabs*, P K Hitti, p 482-83

<sup>2</sup> It was at this time that a very famous disciple of Shwāja Qutb-u'd-din Bahṭiyār Kākī, Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ghaznawī, left his home and came to India. When in Lahore he was undecided whether he should proceed to Dehli or return to Ghazni where his parents and relations lived. He consulted the *Qur'ān* and was directed to proceed to Dehli. Soon afterwards news arrived that the Mongols had conquered Ghazni and put all his relations to death. *Farid-u'd-din-i-Ganj-i-Shakar*, p 73, *Siyar-u l-Awliyā*, p 105

## CHAPTER VI

### In Hānsī

Hānsī is an ancient town in the Hīsār district.<sup>1</sup> Sultān Mas'ūd of Ghaznī occupied it in 1036,<sup>2</sup> but the Chauhans recovered it later.<sup>3</sup> After the Battle of Taraīn, Hānsī was occupied and garrisoned by Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghur.<sup>4</sup> In 1192, a Hindu chief, Jatwan, besieged the Muslim garrison at Hānsī and Aibek had to march in person in order to relieve it. From that time onwards it continued to be a place of great strategic importance. Bābā Farīd settled there after he had completed his course of mystic discipline at the feet of Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kāki. Hānsī was a cantonment and Bābā Farīd thought that he would pass his days there undisturbed by large civilian crowds, but an interesting event brought him into the limelight.<sup>5</sup>

Maulānā Nūr Turk,<sup>6</sup> an eminent mystic and an excellent speaker, reached Hānsī. Bābā Farīd went to hear his sermon. Bābā Farīd's

<sup>1</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, (i) p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Āl-i-Sabukhtigin* p. 604.

<sup>3</sup> An inscription of the Chauhan prince Prithavī Raj I records his conquest of Asī (Hānsī) and its conversion into a fortified outpost against the Muslims in V S 1224-1167 A D. See *Indian Antiquary* XLI p. 17-18.

<sup>4</sup> *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 120.

<sup>5</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 62.

<sup>6</sup> Maulānā Nūr Turk was a man of intensely religious temperament. Though he was not the disciple of any saint, yet he led the life of the mystics, passing his days in poverty. His only means of livelihood was a *dāng* per day which his freed slave gave to him (*Akhbār-ul-Akhyaar* p. 74). Sultan Rāḍiyah once sent some gold to him but he refused to accept it. (*Akhbār-ul-Akhyaar*, p. 74). Nūr Turk did not like the worldliness and the materialistic outlook of the *ulamā* of the day. He often condemned them for their greed of gold and glory. Men like Minhāj could hardly tolerate such criticism. They retaliated by presenting him to posterity in lurid colours. Minhāj says that he was the leader of the Mulāhidah (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* p. 189-90). During the reign of Rāḍiyah he collected together his devotees from the neighbourhood of Delhi, Gujrat, Sind and the Doab. They began to condemn the Ilahī and Shāhī doctrines and called the Sunnī *ulamā* Naṣbi and Murj. On Rajab 674/1237 one thousand armed Mulāhidah entered the Jāma Masjid from two directions and killed a number of the Mussalmans. When confusion spread, some persons from the city—Nāsir u'd-dīn Balramī and Luṣmā Nāsir—came armed with weapons. They fought with the Mulāhidah while the Mussalmans threw stones from the mosque. (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* p. 189-90).

This is Minhāj's account of the rising. I am inclined to believe that Maulānā Nūr Turk had nothing to do with the rising. Minhāj has attributed to him the raising of this trouble for which, probably, he was not at all responsible. My contention that he was not one of the Mulāhidah is based on the following considerations: (i) Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya says about him that he was purer than the rain water (ار آب گسبان پاکیزوتر بود). See *Tawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 199. (ii) A Mulāhidah scholar would not have been reverentially mentioned by scholars like Anūr Khurd and Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Haqq Muhaddith of Delhi as 'Maulānā Nūr Turk'. (iii) Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Haqq could not have included him in his *Tadhkirah* had he been one of the Mulāhidah. (iv) Rāḍiyah would never have thought of sending money to a Mulāhidah, for it was the declared policy of all the Sunnī rulers owing allegiance to the Abbasid Caliphate to take stern measures against the heretics. (v) Had he been a Mulāhidah Bābā Farīd would not have gone to attend his sermon. There is not a single instance in the medieval literature of Sunnī mystics associating with the Mulāhidah scholars. (vi) On leaving India, Nūr Turk went to Mecca and lived there. No Mulāhidah scholar would have been permitted to live like that in the sacred city of Mecca.

clothes were in shreds and there was nothing in his outward appearance to suggest that he was a deeply religious man. Besides, he was not personally known to the eminent visitor. But, as soon as he stepped into the mosque, Maulānā Nūr Turk exclaimed "O Mussalmans! the appraiser of true speech (*Sarrāf-i-Sukhan*) has arrived." All anxious eyes turned towards Bābā Farid. Nūr Turk then showered lavish encomiums on him. "He praised me", Bābā Farid informed his disciples in his old age, "in words he had not cared to bestow on any king<sup>1</sup>."

Nūr Turk's speech made Bābā Farid famous in Hānsī and visitors began to throng round him in large numbers. It was during his stay at Hānsī that Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn joined his discipline.<sup>2</sup> He was a favourite disciple of the Shaikh and it was out of love for him that the Shaikh stayed in Hānsī for twelve years.<sup>3</sup> It is difficult, however, to determine with precision the duration of Bābā Farid's stay in Hānsī. Probably he stayed there for nineteen or twenty years and left it some years after the death of Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Balḥīyār Kākī.

<sup>1</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-I'wā'id*, p. 199-200

<sup>2</sup> Jamālī says that soon after the Shaikh's return from Dehli, Jamāl-u'd-dīn received *Āḥirgah* from his master (p. 33)

<sup>3</sup> *Siyaat-u'l-Auliya*, p. 178

## CHAPTER VII

### At the Head of the Chishti Silsilah

"Maulānā Farid-u'd-dīn!", Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn addressed his disciple with tears in his eyes when the latter sought his permission to leave Dehli for Hānsī "I know that you will go to Hānsī" "I will do as the Shaiḥ orders me to do," submitted Bābā Farid. "Go", continued Shaiḥ Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, "it has been pre-ordained that you will not be present at the time of my death<sup>1</sup>." The saint then asked those who were assembled there to recite the *fāṭḥah* for the spiritual elevation of Bābā Farid and bestowed upon him his special prayer carpet and staff. While bidding him farewell Shaiḥ Qutb-u'd-dīn said that he would leave his *kurqah*, *dastār* and wooden sandals<sup>2</sup> with Qādī Hamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī and that he would receive them from him on the fifth day of his death. Then, with these words on his lips "My place is yours," the great Chishtī saint of Dehli parted for ever with his eminent disciple from the Panjāb.

Khwāja Bakhtiyār's words decided the problem of his successor. Shaiḥ Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī and a few other disciples of the Shaiḥ who were anxious for this honour were gravely disappointed. But no appeals or protests against the Shaiḥ's decision were possible. His word was law.

The night on which Shaiḥ Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī was to depart for the world beyond Bābā Farid dreamt that his master was calling him to his presence. At dawn he left for Dehli. The messenger who was sent from Dehli to convey the sad news to Bābā Farid met him in the way. Bābā Farid hastened to the capital and reached there on the fourth day. Qādī Hamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī handed over the mystic regalia to him. Bābā Farid offered two *ran'ats* (genuflections) of prayer, put the *kurqah* on his head and then proceeded to the house of his deceased master and sat in his place<sup>3</sup>. Shaiḥ Qutb-u'd-dīn

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 73

<sup>2</sup> It may be noted here that the *kurqah* (patched frock), *dastār* (turban) 'asā, (rod), and the *na'asim-i-chubla* (wooden sandals) constituted, what may be called the mystic regalia. It was entrusted by the dying saint to the best amongst his disciples, a disciple whom he thought fit to bear the burden of leading the organization.

These articles were later delivered by Bābā Farid to Shaiḥ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya who, in his turn, gave them to Shaiḥ Naṣir-u'd-dīn Chiragh of Dehli. Shaiḥ Naṣir u'd-dīn did not consider any of his disciples fit to shoulder the burden of the organization. He did not therefore, give them to any one, but, on the other hand, advised his disciples to bury them with him in his grave. *Khawar-i-Majlis*, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 187-88. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 72-73



had also wished him to marry his widow, but Bābā Farid expressed his inability to do that.<sup>1</sup>

Bābā Farid's stay at the capital as the head of the Chishtī Silsilah was full of interesting experiences. So long he had passed his life in a far off town of the Punjāb, away from the hurry and bustle of the capital Dehli was a different world. It was difficult to find here that placid tranquillity that one found in Hānsī. Every day Bābā Farid was invited to feasts and much of his time was wasted in futile and aimless engagements. He got fed up with this life.<sup>2</sup> Every day he thought of leaving Dehli but was still undecided when the following incident made him quit Dehli.

A man, Sarhangā<sup>3</sup> by name, came to Dehli from Hānsī. Every day he sought an interview with Bābā Farid but the *darbān* did not allow him to get in. One day, when the Shaikh came out,<sup>4</sup> Sarhangā, who was waiting for his opportunity, fell at his feet and began to weep. "Access to you was easy when you were in Hānsī, but it is very difficult here," cried Sarhangā. Bābā Farid was deeply touched and he immediately decided to leave for Hānsī. His friends and disciples in Dehli were surprised at this sudden decision to leave the capital. "Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn," they said, "had assigned and entrusted this place to you. Why do you go elsewhere?" "My master's blessing," replied Bābā Farid, "will accompany me whether I am in the city or in the wilderness."<sup>5</sup>

The Sarhangā episode might have been the immediate cause for quitting Dehli, but there were other considerations also which determined his action. He did not like to enter into an unseemly competition or rivalry with his friend, Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī, who had all along been in Dehli and had also worked with his deceased master. It, therefore, seemed proper to him to leave Dehli entirely in his hands and avoid a conflict. The Shaikh's decision to leave Dehli proved a blessing for the larger interests of the Chishtī Silsilah. Subsequent developments in Dehli fully justified the wisdom of his action in settling at a place far off from the capital.

<sup>1</sup> *Khasr-u'l-Majālis*, p. 89

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 33

<sup>3</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 188. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 73

Neither Amīr Hasam nor Amīr Khurd have given any details about Sarhangā. Jamālī and Ghulām Mu'in u'd-dīn however say that he was a *majāhūb*. His name appears to be that of a Non-Muslim or a new convert to Islam.

Sarhangā was an official attached to the camp (*Raveriy*, p. 103) or the revenue ministry (*Barani*, p. 288). He may have been afterwards known by the same title. This name was common amongst the Ghakkars later.

<sup>4</sup> Jamālī says that the Shaikh had come out to offer his Friday prayers. *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 33

<sup>5</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 73. *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 188

A few months after the death of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kāki, Iltutmish also died. Political intrigues amongst the Turkish nobles which followed his death weakened the royal authority and poisoned the springs of social life. Every Turkish noble had in his service a number of theologians to whip up public opinion in his favour. Under such conditions the fortunes of a scholar or a saint associated with a noble waxed and waned with the fortunes of that noble.

In an atmosphere so surcharged with intrigue, it was not possible for a saint to keep out of politics. Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī attached himself to Malik Nizām-u'd-dīn Kharīshādār (the treasurer). The Malik constructed a Khānqah for the Shaikh and offered to bear all his expenses. The Shaikh's acceptance of this offer was against the traditions of the Chishtī *Silsilah* but in the atmosphere of intrigue which had developed at Delhi, there seemed nothing surprising in it.<sup>1</sup> However, it was not possible for the Shaikh to escape from the consequences. The Malik got involved in an embezzlement case and with his ruin came the ruin of Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī. Much worried and perplexed he wrote to Bābā Farīd "One of the servants of the *diuān* had built a Khānqah for me and had arranged for the boarding and the lodging of the *durweshes*. Now a charge of embezzlement has been brought against him. I am much worried and disturbed. Kindly pray for his release and the welfare of the *durweshes*." "He who does not follow the principle of his master," wrote Bābā Farīd in reply, "is confronted with such troubles and worries that his heart gets no peace. Who, among our masters, did ever construct a Khānqah for himself and reside there as you have done? It was not the practice of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn and his master Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn to construct a Khānqah and set up a shop. Wherever they went or sojourned, they tried to conceal themselves from the people<sup>2</sup>."

Bābā Farīd's indictment of the attitude of Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn was perfectly justified and probably it was his determination to keep out of politics which made him leave Delhi.

<sup>1</sup> Bābā Farīd's younger brother Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil though a real *mutawakkil* (resigned to the will of God) accepted in Delhi the *Imāmas* of a mosque constructed and maintained by a Turk who allotted to him a house also. But Shaikh Najīb was a man of conviction. The noble spent more than a *lac* *mitals* on the marriage of his daughter. The Shaikh objected to this lavish expenditure and was dismissed. *Fawā'id-u l-Fu'ūd*, p. 79. *Siyar-u'l-Awliyā*, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> *Fawā'id-u l-Fu'ūd*, p. 79. See also *Khawā'is-Majālis*, p. 188.

## CHAPTER VIII

### In Ajodhan

Though his pir Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī had appointed him as his successor, the period of Bābā Farid's spiritual self-training was not yet over. He was constantly in search of a place where he could carry on his devotions undisturbed by visitors. When Maulānā Nūr Turk's praise made him famous in Hānsī, he moved to Kahtwāl. As the stream of visitors increased in Kahtwāl, he shuttled to Ajodhan, where he lived till the last moment of his life.<sup>1</sup>

Ajodhan—modern Pākattan<sup>2</sup>—was an ancient town which probably derived its name from the Yaudheya tribe (the modern Johiyas).<sup>3</sup> It was a place of great importance as the principal ferry across the Sutlej and the meeting place of the great western roads from Dera Ghazi Khan to Dera Ismail Khan. But it appears that the spot selected by the Shāikh for his stay was inhabited by backward Hindu tribes.<sup>4</sup> There were *chuls* (deserts) all round. Snakes and wild animals were to be found everywhere. The Shāikh himself was bitten by a snake,<sup>5</sup> while his mother was devoured by a wild animal in the vicinity of Ajodhan. The inhabitants of this place professed degrading beliefs.<sup>6</sup> They were illiterate, bad-tempered<sup>7</sup> and superstitious.<sup>8</sup> No place could be more suitable for a saint wishing to pass his years of self-discipline in a lonely corner. He spread his carpet under a cluster of trees outside the town.<sup>9</sup> For some time there was none to disturb him. But very soon the period of self-discipline came to an end and '*uzlat* (isolation) was changed into *ṣukbat* (company). He threw open the gates of his house to every one who wished to see him. "Come to me one by one," he told his visitors, "so that I may attend to you individually."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Amīr Khurd says that according to one tradition the Shāikh lived in Ajodhan for 16 years and according to another report for 24 years till his death (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 63).

<sup>2</sup> The modern name of Pākattan ('Ferry of the Pure') is derived from the saint Farid-u'd-dīn, one of the most famous devotees of Northern India, who was instrumental in the conversion of the whole Southern Punjab to the faith of Islām. W. W. Hunter *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. X, 1886. Second edition, p. 532. See also Cunningham *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 250-51.

<sup>3</sup> *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* (New Edition 1908), Vol. XIX, p. 332-333.

<sup>4</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, p. 163.

<sup>5</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 80-81.

<sup>6</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, p. 168.

<sup>7</sup> *Khawar-u'l-Majālis*, p. 188. *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 33. *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 51. *Gulshar-i-Abrār*, MS.

<sup>8</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, p. 168. In some *tadhkirahs* it is stated that they had no faith in saints, implying of course, Muslim saints.

<sup>9</sup> *Khawar-u'l-Majālis*, p. 89. *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 33.

<sup>10</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 68. *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 34.

One of the first things that Bābā Farīd did on settling at Ajodhan was to send his younger brother, Shāikh Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil, to bring his mother from Kahtwāl. Shāikh Najīb-u'd-dīn went to Kahtwāl, mounted his aged mother on his horse and started towards Ajodhan. While crossing a *chul*, Shāikh Najīb-u'd-dīn felt thirsty. He requested his mother to sit under the shade of a tree and went on horse in search of water. When he came back he did not find his mother. He made frantic search for her in every direction but to no avail. With a heavy heart he returned to his elder brother. Bābā Farīd ordered the funeral rites of his mother to be performed.

It is said that after some time Shāikh Najīb-u'd-dīn happened to pass through the same *chul*. The tragic way in which his mother had disappeared had racked his heart. He cast his gloomy eyes in every direction appealing to the place to disclose the mystery of the disappearance of his mother. All of a sudden he came across some bones. "These are the bones of my mother," he told himself and collected them in a bag and took them to his brother. Bābā Farīd asked him to put the bones on his prayer carpet, but, when the bag was opened, there was nothing in it.<sup>1</sup>

Bābā Farīd's fame now began to spread far and wide. It crossed the borders of India and attracted people from distant lands. But his life at Ajodhan was a hard one. He had to bear a number of troubles at the hands of his fellow citizens and the local officers. His fame and popularity was gall and wormwood to the '*ulāmā-i-zihiri*'. The Qādi of Ajodhan became jealous of him and at his instigation the jāgirdārs and other government and semi-government officers began to harass his family. True to the traditions of his elder saints he bore all these troubles with remarkable patience. It was not his principle to enter into disputes or controversies with any human being. When the Shāikh's forbearance foiled the Qādi's attempts at provocation, he approached the sanclans of Multān for a legal verdict (*fatwah*) against the Shāikh. An educated man lives in a mosque, hears songs and dances. What is your opinion about him? The '*Ulāmā*' refrained from expressing any opinion on the basis of that meagre data. "Let us know first of all who the person is about whom you want this *fatwah*," they asked the Qādi. When they heard the name of Bābā Farīd they replied, "You have referred to a saint against whom no *mujtahid* can dare raise his finger." The Qādi returned to Ajodhan disappointed and snubbed, but this rebuff, far from toning down his hostility, aggravated his bitterness. He hired an assassin to kill the saint. Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya says

'One day Shāikh-u'l-Islām Farīd-u'd-dīn offered his morning prayer and placed his head in *sirpadah*. He used to spend some

<sup>1</sup> *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ad* p. 122-23. *Akhbār-u'l-Akhbar*, p. 287-88. *Ma'arifi u'l-Wulayat*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ad* p. 96. *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 43.

time in that position very often. As it was bitterly chill, a *postin* was spread over him. There was no servant present at that time except myself. A man suddenly appeared and accosted so loudly that the Shaikh was disturbed in his devotions. The Shaikh, in that very position of prostration and with the *postin* over him, asked "Who is here?" "I am," I replied. Afterwards the Shaikh said "The man who has come is a Turk of a medium size with slightly yellowish colour?" I looked at that man and found that he was exactly the same. "Yes, he is like this," I replied. Then the Shaikh asked "Is he wearing a chain round his waist?" When I looked at him again I found that also "Yes", I replied. Then he asked "Has he anything in his ears?" I looked at him and found that he had. "Yes, he has rings," I replied. Every time that I looked at the man, his colour changed. "Tell him", the Shaikh told me, "to go away before he is disgraced". The man took to his heels and disappeared<sup>1</sup>.

Failing in that attempt too, the Qādi began to harass the sons of the Shaikh. They complained to their father who replied "You will soon get rid of them". Soon afterwards the Shaikh's enemies got scattered and those who remained developed faith in him.<sup>2</sup>

But it appears, nevertheless, that the Qādi who succeeded him continued the policy of his predecessor. He instigated the governor of Ajodhan to take action against him. The Qādi and the governor both became hostile to the Shaikh. The sons of the Shaikh were harassed and annoyed by the governor. The eldest son of the Shaikh one day told his father in a very desperate and melancholy mood "The only advantage that we receive from your spiritual greatness is the constant persecution to which we are subjected by the governor". The Shaikh was pained at this report. He struck his rod (*asā*) on the ground in anger. At that very moment, Shaikh Naṣir-u'd-din Chirāgh-i-Dehlī informs us, the governor was afflicted with a severe pain in his stomach. "Take me to the house of Shaikh Farid-u'd-din," he cried in pain. He died soon afterwards.<sup>3</sup>

The Shaikh's life was a hard one. He had never the affluence and plenty which his friend and contemporary Shaikh Bahā'u'd-din Zakariyyā enjoyed. He lived a life of poverty and distress. In his last years he was in extremely straitened circumstances. There was no *futūḥ* and the family was a big one. These difficulties, however, could not disturb the inner peace of his mind. His companions were men of the same kidney. They stood by the side of their master through thick and thin.

<sup>1</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 153. The author of *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin* says that he had an open knife hidden in his armpit and that he was employed by the Qādi (p. 34-35). Jamālī calls the assassin a *qalandar* (p. 35). Amir Ḥaṣan calls him a Turk. (p. 153).

<sup>2</sup> Jamālī says that on hearing these complaints, the Shaikh advised his sons: "چورو چو لی ایشان کشید کم کشیدو کشیدو کشید" *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Khaw-u'l-Majālis*, p. 182.

## CHAPTER IX

### Life in Ajodhan

#### (a) *The Shaikh and His Family*

Far from the atmosphere of courts and camps, Bābā Farid lived near the main mosque of Ajodhan in a small thatched building constructed of wood and mud and passed his days and nights in prayers and in attending to the problems of the spiritually starved people. His life was one long struggle against poverty, against self and against sin. Very often kings and their ministers requested him to accept villages for his expenses but he declined the offer firmly and preferred to starve with his big family rather than debase the traditions of higher mysticism.

#### THE SHAIKH'S HOUSE

When Bābā Farid's family increased and his children grew up, he built a small *kachcha* house for them<sup>1</sup>. Later on, a devotee prevailed upon his sons to obtain the saint's permission to rebuild it with unbaked brick. The Shaikh lived in this house till his death. During his lifetime another devotee had expressed his desire to build for him a house of baked brick, but the Shaikh refused the offer with the remark: "Mas'ūd will not put brick on brick".

#### HIS FAMILY

Bābā Farid had a number of wives and a big family. Shaikh Naṣir-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehlī is reported in *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* to have stated on the authority of his master that Shaikh Farid-u'd-dīn had many wives (حرم بسیار بود)<sup>2</sup>. In the *Khair-u'-Majalis* Shaikh Naṣir-u'd-dīn is reported to have said that Shaikh Farid had two or three wives (دوهرم بود یا سههرم)<sup>3</sup>. The Shaikh treated them all justly and equitably<sup>4</sup>. However, to provide for this large family must have been a problem for him, particularly in the closing years of his life when the door of *faiḍ* (unasked for charity) had almost been closed on him. Very often the family had to starve. The maid-servant would come and report: "Khawaja! This son of yours has starved for two days", or "This wife of yours has starved for two days". But these reports could hardly disturb the peace of his mind, and, as

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar u'l-Awliya*, fn. p. 34, *Mas'ūd u' Asrār* (MS) p. 550

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 90

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 66

<sup>4</sup> *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 89

<sup>5</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 194

Shaikh Naṣir-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehlī tells us, these reports were like "a passing wind for him<sup>1</sup>."

One day a wife of the Shaikh told him, "Khwāja ! To-day my son is about to expire from starvation " The Shaikh who was lost in his mystic contemplation, raised his head, as if enraged at the distraction caused by the report, and said "What has poor Mas'ūd to do in this matter ? If Fate has so decreed and he dies, tie a rope round his feet and throw him out and come back<sup>2</sup> " This remark of the Shaikh should be read in its proper context It would be utterly wrong to infer on the basis of this observation that the Shaikh was indifferent towards his children or that he did not care to perform his duties towards his dependants There are moments in a Shaikh's life when he refuses to be disturbed in the least by domestic problems or worries of the mundane world<sup>3</sup>

One day a visitor from Patialā<sup>4</sup> conveyed to him the respects of his dearest son Nizām-u'd-dīn The Shaikh was so deeply sunk in his contemplation that he did not recognize his son and went on questioning the visitor "Whom do you refer ?" It was after a very great difficulty that the visitor could make him understand that his own son had sent the message<sup>5</sup>

These stories reveal the extent to which the Shaikh was sometimes absorbed in his mystic contemplation and should not, therefore, be cited to prove his indifference towards his family members There are several anecdotes in contemporary religious literature which show his deep affection and love towards his sons and grandsons One day, when he was sitting on his cot, his grandson 'Alā-u'd-dīn, then a small babe, came to him and, resting on a *paṭṭī* of his cot stood on floor The Shaikh took out some betel from his mouth and put it into 'Alā-u'd-dīn's mouth Soon afterwards the Shaikh left his cot, performed ablution (*Wadū*) and was about to proceed to his prayer-carpet that he found 'Alā u'd-dīn occupying it and playing on it. 'Isā, a disciple of the Shaikh, would have persuaded the babe to leave the prayer-carpet but the Shaikh told him not to disturb him<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Khawar-u'l-Majlis*, p 89 این سخن بادی بود که در این گوش آمدی و بدان گوش رفتی  
*Siyar-u'l-Auliya* pp 66-67

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p 67, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p 52

<sup>3</sup> Prof Muhammad Habib interprets this remark differently He says that in this way the Shaikh gave to his family a lesson in patience

<sup>4</sup> A small town in the district of Etah Abū'l Faḍl (*Ā'in-i-Akhbari* Calcutta Vol I, p 35) mentions it in the *sīcar* of Qannauj At that time it was situated on the bank of the river Ganges (See Khurraw, *Dirāchah Ghurra-i'l-Kamāl*)

<sup>5</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fawā'id* p 223 See also p 160 The saint recognized after great difficulty a visitor he had met in the Maṅqah of Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Balūṭiyār Kāfi.

<sup>6</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p 194 The Shaikh told him in the Hindī language "Isā, let him sit there" عیسیٰ مینے کہہ دی

It seems that the Shaiikh's family has considerably increased in the last years of his life and consisted of a large number of sons, daughters, grandsons and granddaughters. Some of his grandsons had left Ajodhan during his lifetime and had settled at different places in the vicinity <sup>1</sup>

### THE SHAIKH'S CLOTHES, BEDDING, ETC

Never in his long life did Bābā Farīd wear good clothes. Both poverty and inclination forced him to have tattered garments on his body. Early in his life when Shaiikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn Tabrizī met him at Kahtwāl his clothes were in shreds <sup>2</sup>. Later on when he met Maulānā Nūr Turk his clothes were no better <sup>3</sup>. When he reached Dehli, years afterwards, he was clad in grimy clothes <sup>4</sup>. During his stay in Ajodhan he continued to live in the same condition. Whenever any body presented a new dress to him he gave it to the needy <sup>5</sup>.

The Shaiikh had no bedding. He had a blanket (*gal'im*) on which he used to sit during the day. This blanket was spread out on an ordinary and loosely woven cot at bed-time, and it was so small that it did not cover the whole cot. A rug (*shuqqah*) was placed at the end of the cot. If the Shaiikh covered his body with it, the end of the cot remained without any cover. The Shaiikh had no pillow and used to put the staff ('*asī*') of his master under his head after kissing it respectfully <sup>6</sup>.

### FOOD AND FASTS

Shaiikh Farīd used to fast constantly <sup>7</sup>. He took nothing at the time of *sahr*, <sup>8</sup> and passed the whole day in prayers and in attending to visitors

<sup>1</sup> *I'awā'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 147

One day Muhammad, a grandson of the Shaiikh, who was affectionately called Mamman and lived in a neighbouring village came to see his grandfather. Some one had reported to the Shaiikh that Mamman had acquired the habit of drinking wine. As soon as he appeared before the Shaiikh he asked: 'Muhammad mā'a mān? People have reported that you take intoxicants.' No, replied Mamman. 'I do not. They have falsely reported.' The Shaiikh who had a keen insight into human nature did not pursue the matter further. 'It will be as you say,' he remarked and shelved the matter. Mamman alone knew what the Shaiikh meant by this remark. *I'awā'id-u'l-Fu'ad* pp. 147-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 63

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 62

<sup>4</sup> While in Dehli he attended a sermon of Shaiikh Badr u'd-dīn Ghazrawī who showered encomiums on him. He was in so grimy and tattered clothes that no one could recognize him in that meeting. When he returned home a man presented a new dress to him. Bābā Farīd accepted the present and wore the new clothes, but soon took them off and gave them to Shaiikh Nāṣir u'd-dīn Mutawakkil with the remark: 'The pleasure that I have in my grimy and tattered garments is not to be found in these new clothes.' *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 62. See also, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār* p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> Sayyid Muhammad Ghusnī Darāz however informs us that Shaiikh Farīd-u'd-dīn always possessed four pairs of clothes:—one on his body, one with the washerman, one in reserve for use in emergency lest some pollution prevented him from offering his prayers in time, and the fourth one for some needy person. *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilām*, p. 151, *Ma'arif-u'l-Walāyat*, (MS).

<sup>6</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 51-52, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 65, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 51.

<sup>7</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ad* p. 184, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 64.

<sup>8</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 386. *Sahr*—Before the dawn of the day. Also the meal which is taken before the dawn of day to enable one to fast till sun set.



of all types, without showing the slightest sign of exhaustion or fatigue. At the time of *iftār* (breaking the fast) some *sherbet* and dried grapes (*munagga*) were brought before him. He took one third or one half of the bowl of *sherbet* and distributed the rest amongst those present. Afterwards, two pieces of bread smeared with some *ghee* were brought. One piece was distributed amongst the audience, the other was placed before the Shaikh, but he shared it also with others.<sup>1</sup> The Shaikh always used *jowār* (millet) for his bread.<sup>2</sup>

This one third of a bowl of *sherbet*, a few dried grapes and half a piece of bread was all that Bābā Farid took in twenty-four hours. When the dinner cloth was spread in his *Jamā'at Khānah*, he did not share anything with his disciples.

### THE SHAIKH'S ROUTINE

Shaikh Farid led a highly disciplined life and meticulously followed his daily programme (*sābitah*). He took his bath every day.<sup>3</sup> It was also his daily practice to spend two hours in prostration (*sajdah*) after the morning prayer.<sup>4</sup> The doors of his room were closed when he was engaged in prayers and no one could enter it as long as he was busy with his devotions. It is difficult to explain the condition of his emotions when he was alone. He would frequently recite verses and lay his head in prostration.<sup>5</sup> After the *zuhr* prayers the Shaikh received his visitors.<sup>6</sup> He never retired into his room unless he had attended to the problem of every visitor. He used to say "There can be no pleasure in devotions so long as there remains a single needy person at the door." After these interviews the Shaikh busied himself with his devotions in his small room. Every night, after *iftār*, he used to call Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya, when in Ajodhan, to his presence. Sometimes Maulānā Shuhāb-u'd-din or Maulānā Rukn-u'd-din also attended. The Shaikh asked them about the happenings of the day "امروز چه گذشت و چه حال بود" and showed deep concern for the inmates of the *Jamā'at Khānah*.

### PERSONAL ATTENDANTS OF THE SHAIKH

Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ishāq was the chief personal attendant of the Shaikh. According to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya he served his master so well that even ten servants could not have served him so efficiently.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 31, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 63; *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 386.

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 386.

Amir Khurd quotes another report also in which it is said that the Shaikh used to bathe five times a day, before every obligatory prayer (p. 386).

<sup>4</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 132.

<sup>5</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 203.

<sup>6</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 442.

<sup>7</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 160.

<sup>8</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 177.

He was always in the attendance of the saint. When the Shaiikh closed his *hujrah*, Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn sat at the door<sup>1</sup>. Once the Shaiikh called Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn. The Maulānā was offering his prayer but at the call of his Shaiikh he cried out in the midst of his prayer, "I am present".

Besides Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn there were other disciples also who performed personal service to the Shaiikh. Khwāja Ahmad Siwistāni used to fetch water for ablutions and other requirements of the saint.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes he washed the Shaiikh's clothes also. Once the Shaiikh asked him to wash his clothes. He went to a stream, washed the clothes and brought them back to the Shaiikh. The Shaiikh ordered him to wash them a second time. Khwāja Ahmad realized that he had not properly performed the work assigned to him. He had performed ablution after washing the clothes, though he should have first performed ablution and then washed the clothes. When he brought the clothes before the Shaiikh after washing them a second time he instructed him to wash them a third time. Khwāja Ahmad was taken by surprise because this time he had taken all possible care to wash the Shaiikh's clothes properly. He brooded over the fault and then discovered that the branches of the tree on which he had spread the clothes were polluted.<sup>3</sup>

There was a disciple, 'Isā by name, who looked after some private and personal matters of the Shaiikh. Amir Khurd writes about him<sup>4</sup>

”میسر . در خلوت خدمت کودی و حریمی را که نوبت او بودی بخدمت شایخ شیخ العالم نورستادی و نوبت این شعل نگاهداشتی تا عدل درین کار مرعی ماند“

Amir Khurd has referred to a *ghulām* of the Shaiikh, Akhī Mubārak.<sup>5</sup> No details about the nature of his work are available.

## PRAYERS IN GRAVEYARD

Bābā Farīd often used to pray in a graveyard outside the city where many martyrs lay buried.<sup>6</sup> Once the Shaiikh fell seriously ill. He called Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya and some other disciples and asked them to go to that graveyard and pray there for his health. These disciples carried their food with them and prayed there for a few days on a balcony of the graveyard. When they returned to the *jamā'at Khānah* and reported to the Shaiikh the compliance of his order, the Shaiikh remained quiet for

<sup>1</sup> *Khawar-u'l Majālis* p. 224

<sup>2</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* p. 231

<sup>3</sup> Once Khwāja Ahmad could not carry *masāk* (sheep-skin tanned specially for carrying water) due to severe pain in his back. The Shaiikh called him to his presence and put his hand on his back. Never again in his long life, says Amir Khurd, did Khwāja Ahmad ever suffer from pain in the back. *Siyyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 86

<sup>4</sup> *Siyyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 86

<sup>5</sup> *Siyyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 194

<sup>6</sup> *Siyyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 172

<sup>7</sup> *Siyyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 90

a while and then remarked "Your prayer did not produce any sign of health" Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn kept silent at this remark, but his friend 'Alī Bihārī who was standing behind him, replied, "We are imperfect. The Shaikh's holy self is perfect. How can the prayer of imperfect people be effective for perfect ones?" As the Shaikh could not hear what 'Alī Bihārī had said, Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya repeated his reply. The Shaikh turned his face towards Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya and said, "I have prayed to God to grant all your prayers!" Then the Shaikh gave a staff ('asā) to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya and ordered him to go again to the graveyard along with Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq and pray there. Both the saints prayed there throughout the night and when they returned, the Shaikh praised the efficacy of their prayers.<sup>1</sup>

### SHAIKH, A VICTIM OF MAGIC

Once Shaikh Farīd fell seriously ill. He did not take anything for many days. Every one in the Khānqah was worried and perplexed. Experienced physicians were called. They examined his pulse and urine but failed to diagnose the disease. The Shaikh's condition deteriorated every day and no one could discover what his illness was. The Shaikh called his son, Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān and his disciple, Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya, and asked them to pray for his recovery. Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn dreamt in the night that an old man came to him and said "Your father is the victim of magic." Badr-u'd-dīn asked him in his dream as to who was responsible for this evil act. The old man informed him that it was the work of the son of Shihāb-u'd-dīn, the magician. Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn further asked him as to how the effect of the magic could be counteracted. The old man asked him to sit by the side of Shihāb's grave and recite a particular prayer. Next morning Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn reported the dream to his ailing father who ordered Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya to commit the prayer to memory and recite it at the grave of Shihāb, the magician. Shihāb was a well-known figure in Ajodhan and Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn had no difficulty in reaching his grave. While reciting the prayer Shaikh Nizām u'd-dīn began to remove the earth from above the cenotaph of the grave. All of a sudden he came across a small human statue made of flour with a horse's hair tied round it and pierced throughout by needles. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn brought the statue to Dābā Farīd who asked him to take out the needles and remove the hair. As the needles were drawn out one by one the Shaikh found his condition getting better. The figurine was thrown into the river.<sup>2</sup> The governor of Ajodhan heard about the matter and was so enraged that he arrested

<sup>1</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 52

<sup>2</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 59

<sup>3</sup> The compiler of *Fawā'id-u'l-Ku'ām* says that the Shaikh was taken to a river where he bathed and where the statue was thrown.

شیخ را به در لب آب آنجا می که فریدوال می گویند بردند

the son of Shihāb, and sent him in fetters to the Shaiḡh. "This man," the governor said in his message, "deserves capital punishment. If you permit me, I shall take his life in retaliation." "God has given me health, I forgive him in gratitude (for my recovery). You should also overlook his wrong," was the Shaiḡh's reply to the governor's message.<sup>1</sup>

### DAYS OF DISTRESS

In his last years the Shaiḡh had to pass his days in extreme indigence. Even during the sacred month of Ramadān the household got very little at the *ṣūṭr* time. Shaiḡh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā lived with the Shaiḡh throughout the month of Ramadān, but never for a single day did he get a square meal. When he was about to leave for Dehli, Shaiḡh Farīd gave him a gold coin (*Sulṭānī*). But that was the last coin with Shaiḡh Farīd's household. In the evening Shaiḡh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā found that the entire family would have to go without dinner. He placed his master's gift again at his feet.<sup>2</sup>

It is very difficult to explain the reasons for this poverty of the Shaiḡh in the closing years of his life. He was at the height of his fame and his disciples were spread throughout the country. How was it that the stream of *ḡulūḡ* completely dried up at this time?

<sup>1</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p. 178, *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p. 66.

## CHAPTER X

### Life in Ajodhan

#### (b) *The Jamā'at Khānah and its Visitors*

Muslim mystics of the middle ages laid great emphasis on community life. They considered a life of solitary, self-sufficient contemplation to be incompatible with the highest mystic ideals because it made a man ego-centric, limited his sympathies and cut him off completely from the energising currents of social life. They, therefore, constructed *khānqahs* and *Jamā'at khānahs* where men of different temperaments and different attitudes rubbed their shoulders and learnt to live together. All tensions, conflicts and complexes in their character were, thereby, resolved and their personalities were moulded in consonance with the spirit of the *si-silah*. Besides, here they were taught, by precept and example, the most difficult of all human lessons—the subordination of human desires to moral and spiritual ideals. Common sufferings and penitences drew out the noblest qualities of their souls and made them understand the divine significance of life. The *khānqahs* and the *Jamā'at khānahs* of the middle ages consequently became an integral part of the mystic discipline.

### THE INMATES

The *Jamā'at khānah* of *Shaiikh Farid*—a large room, where his disciples slept, prayed and studied on the ground—was one of the greatest centres of spiritual culture in medieval India. Here one could see mystic principles being actually translated into practice. Spiritually starved people flocked to it from far and near. Let us introduce the reader to a few inmates of this *Jamā'at khānah*.

"Here is Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn, Ishāq once a great scholar of Dehli,<sup>1</sup> but now an humble servant of the *Shaiikh*. He receives visitors, looks after the comfort of the inmates of the *Jamā'at khānah* and devotedly serves the *Shaiikh* day and night.<sup>2</sup> He is a man of emotions and, do you see, tears are flowing from his eyes. When he bows in *sidak*, his tears make the prayer-carpet wet.<sup>3</sup>

"Here is Sayyid Maḥmūd Kirmānī,<sup>4</sup> once a flourishing businessman of Kirmān, now a starving disciple of the *Shaiikh*. He used to come to

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 170

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 170-171

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 172

<sup>4</sup> He was the grandfather of the author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*.

Ajodhan to see the Shaukh. One day he decided, all of a sudden, to give up his life of affluence and plenty and settled here with his wife Bibi Rānī, daughter of a munt officer of Multān. Bibi Rānī is a lady of fervent piety. She looks after the comforts of the inmates of the *Jamā'at Khānah* as a sister looks after her brothers. One day she asked Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq "Brother! If you stop weeping for a little while, I will put *surmā* (concealment) in your eyes." The Maulānā replied "What am I to do, sister? My tears are not under my control!" She is a very kind and affectionate lady. One day, on seeing Shaukh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā in grimy and tattered clothes, she gave a *chādar* to him to cover his body and then washed his clothes and patched them.<sup>2</sup>

"Here is Nizām-u'd-dīn, a brilliant product of the academic institutions of Badā'un and Dehli. He was expected to have a 'fine' career, but he has joined the discipline of the Shaukh and lives here like other inmates. The other day when he came here for the first time, the Shaukh ordered a cot to be provided for him. It was a rare honour that the Shaukh conferred on him. He is young in years but ripe in devotions. A few days back he met one of his class-fellows who was much surprised and shocked at his poverty,<sup>3</sup> but he is so firm in his convictions that nothing can dissuade him from the path he has chosen for himself.

"Here is Hamid, once in the service of Malik Tughril<sup>4</sup> at Dehli. It is interesting to know how he came to this *Jamā'at Khānah*. One day he was standing before his master, Tughril, when he saw a figure (*ṣūrat*) which addressed him thus "Hamid! Why are you standing before this man?" So saying the figure disappeared. He was perplexed at this. He saw the figure three times repeating the same question "Hamid! Why do you stand before this man?" He replied to the figure "Why should I not stand before him? I am his servant. He is the master. He gives me my pay. Why should I not stand (before him)?" The figure replied "You are a scholar, he is an ignorant man. You are a free man, he is a slave. You are a pious man, he is a sinner." He relinquished his service and came to this *Jamā'at Khānah*. Occasionally he delivers sermons,<sup>5</sup> but usually he is busy in his devotions.

"Here is Maulānā Jamāl Hānsī, once a prosperous Khatīb, but now a starving disciple. He lives in Hānsī but often comes to this *Jamā'at*

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 239.

<sup>5</sup> Tughril was a Turkish slave of Sultān Balban. He was known for his generosity, courage and cleverness. The Sultān appointed him Governor of Lakhnauti where he rebelled and proclaimed himself a King with the title of Sultān Muḥammad-u'd-dīn. Balban marched against him in person. He was ultimately beheaded. See *Tārīkh-i-Futūḥ Shāhī*, pp. 90-92.

<sup>6</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 204, *Siyar-u'l-Arifin* pp. 54-55.

Khānah<sup>1</sup> As long as he stays here he performs all sorts of work along with his comrades and friends. He is one of the dearest disciples of the Shaikh<sup>2</sup>

"Here is a ṣūfī. I do not know wherefrom he has come, but he is always busy in his devotions. One day his clothes were so dirty that Maulānā Badr-ū'd-dīn Ishāq could not help asking him. "Why do you not wash your clothes?" But he kept quiet. After a few days the Maulānā again put the same question to him but a bit sternly. "Where is the leisure to wash these clothes?" he replied in a meek voice which excited pity. Maulānā Ishāq was so deeply touched at his words that he cannot look at him without being moved to tears.<sup>3</sup>

"Here is Naṣīr, a scholar who gave up his studies to join the Jamā'at Khānah. When he was admitted into the discipline his head was shaved but he felt so odd without his hair that one day he was found asking a ṣogī about some medicine for growing hair. He has been here for sometime and now he has so completely changed that the other day when Khwāja Wahīd-u'd-dīn, a grandson of Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn, was shaved, he also got his head shaved.<sup>4</sup>

"Here is a former nawīsīndāh (clerk), he left his service, committed his family to the care of his brother and came to this Jamā'at Khānah to spend his time in prayers and penitences.<sup>5</sup>"

The Jamā'at Khānah of Shaikh Farīd abounded in large number of such persons -former merchants, government servants, scholars, etc. Only a few inmates have been introduced here.<sup>6</sup>

#### MANAGEMENT OF THE JAMĀ'AT KHANAH

The Jamā'at Khānah was managed by the inmates themselves. They performed different duties. Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq used to go to the jungle and collect wood for the joint household. Maulānā Jamāl-u'd-dīn Hānswī's duty was to pluck deluh from the Kareel trees. Maulānā Hussām-u'd-dīn had to fetch water and wash the utensils of the kitchen.<sup>7</sup> The entire household rejoiced when the efforts of these people succeeded in providing a square meal for the inmates of the Jamā'at Khānah. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya used to say<sup>8</sup>

"در آن شب که دلم .. در خانه شیخ میوه می خوردیم مارا روز بعد بودی"

<sup>1</sup> Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād, p. 42

<sup>2</sup> See infra Chapter XIII

<sup>3</sup> Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād, p. 244

Siyar-u'l-Auliya, p. 420

<sup>4</sup> Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād, p. 238

<sup>5</sup> Khair-u'l-Majlis, p. 147

<sup>6</sup> When Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya reached the Jamā'at Khānah he found many ḥuṣṣār and scholars sleeping on the ground. Siyar-u'l-Auliya, p. 207

<sup>7</sup> Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād, p. 74, Khair-u'l-Majlis, p. 188, Siyar-u'l-Auliya, pp. 86-209, Siyar-u'l-Arifin, pp. 61-52

<sup>8</sup> Khair-u'l-Majlis, p. 150

But when sufficient food could not be procured the Shaiḥh permitted his disciples to circulate his *zanbil*<sup>1</sup> (a bowl made of dried and hollow gourd) amongst the neighbours. No earlier saint of the *Chishti Salsalah* had ever permitted or approved of the practice of circulating *zanbil*. It seems that Bābā Farid permitted his disciples to circulate it when reduced to extremes, and in preference to the practice of borrowing money. The Shaiḥh never permitted his disciples to incur any debt. Once a servant purchased salt on credit. The Shaiḥh refused to partake of the food prepared from that salt.<sup>2</sup>

Once Shaiḥh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā was staying in the *Jamā'at Khānah* of Shaiḥh Farid. He was assigned the duty of boiling *delahs* brought from the jungle by his comrades. One day when boiling the *delahs* he found that there was no salt available in the *Jamā'at Khānah*. He went to a neighbouring grocer and purchased some salt on credit. When the dish was ready, Shaiḥh Nizām-u'd-dīn placed it before the Shaiḥh. As soon as the saint put his hand into the dish he said "My hand has become heavier. May be that I am not permitted to take the morsel to my mouth. Perhaps there is some doubtful thing in it." So saying the Shaiḥh put the morsel back into the dish. Shaiḥh Nizām-u'd-dīn trembled as he heard these words. He stood up, placed his head on the ground and humbly submitted "My master! Shaiḥh Jalāl, Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq and Maulānā Hussām-u'd-dīn bring wood, *delah* and water for the kitchen. This poor fellow boils the *delah* and takes full care in its preparation, and brings it before the master. There seems to me nothing to doubt about it. But the reality is known to the master." The Shaiḥh asked about the salt. Shaiḥh Nizām-u'd-dīn again placed his head on the ground and explained the position. Bābā Farid then remarked

"درویشان اگر مقام میرود ار وائی اذت نفس قرض گیرد، ریرا کہ قرض و توکل بعد المشرقین است، بهم راست بیاید"

(The *dervishes* prefer dying of starvation to incurring any debt for the satisfaction of their (base) desires. Debt and Resignation are poles apart and cannot subsist together.)

After this admonition the Shaiḥh ordered him to remove that dish from the *Jamā'at Khānah*.<sup>3</sup>

There were times when the Shaiḥh was in such indigent circumstances that he could not provide even a dinner-cloth and people had to take their meals on the ground.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Khawr-u'l-Majālis* p. 150, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 66

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 61, *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 62

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 66

*Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 62

<sup>4</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 55



## VISITORS AND THEIR PROBLEMS

The *Jamā'at Khānah* of Shaiḫ Farīd remained open till midnight <sup>1</sup> All types of people—scholars, politicians, soldiers, Hindu *yogis*, qalandars—visited it. They came with different objects. The Shaiḫ attended to the individual problem of every visitor and welcomed the strangers and the acquaintance with equal warmth and affection <sup>2</sup> His conversation was inspiring, every one who happened to talk with him found himself captivated.

The following incidents and stories selected from the earliest accounts will give some idea of the atmosphere that prevailed in the *Jamā'at Khānah* and the problems that the people brought to the Shaiḫ.

(i) Once a man started from Delhi in order to repent before Shaiḫ Farīd in Ajodhan. On the way a female singer joined the caravan. The woman was a bad character. She designed to become intimate with the man who constantly avoided being entangled in her amorous advances. But, at one stage of their journey, the man and the woman had to mount the same cart and the woman found an opportunity of enticing him. As soon as the man extended his hand towards her a man appeared to him (in a vision) and slapped him. "You are going to Shaiḫ Farīd in order to repent," he said, "What is this?" The man was horrified and he did not look at the woman again. When he reached the *Jamā'at Khānah*, the first thing that Shaiḫ Farīd said to him was "God protected you well on that day" <sup>3</sup> This man who came for repentance brought a problem for the Shaiḫ. How to make this 'repentance' effective and how to prevent the recurrence of such incidents in his life?

(ii) A tax-collector with whom the governor of Ajodhan was extremely displeased came to the Shaiḫ and requested him to intercede in the matter. The Shaiḫ sent his servant <sup>4</sup> to the governor with a polite message. "Please forgive this worried tax-collector for the sake of this *durwesh*" <sup>5</sup>

(بسمت این درویش اریں نویسد: دلریش معذور، باید بود)

The governor turned a deaf ear to the Shaiḫ's request. The tax-collector again came to the Shaiḫ worried and perplexed. "I appealed for you to the governor," the Shaiḫ told him, "but he has paid no attention to my request. May be, you have also, in your turn, been equally indifferent to the appeals of the unfortunate." The tax-collector

<sup>1</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 74, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 64

<sup>2</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p. 74, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 65

<sup>3</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 219-220, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 85

<sup>4</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, (p. 147) has کسی را جانب والی فرستاد  
*The Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, (p. 38) has خادمی را بدان والی فرستاد

<sup>5</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 38

expressed his repentance and submitted "I promise I will not be harsh to any one in future even if he happens to be my enemy<sup>1</sup>"

(iii) Shams, a native of Sunnām, came to the Jamā'at Khānah and recited a qasidah with the Shaiikh's permission "What do you want?" the Shaiikh asked him as soon as he finished his qasidah "I have to look after an aged mother and have financial worries," submitted Shams. The Shaiikh asked him to bring something for distribution among the needy and the poor. Shams presented 50 jitals which were distributed amongst those present. The Shaiikh then prayed for his prosperity. Shams got an appointment as dabir<sup>2</sup> in the service of Sultan Balban's son, Bughrā Khān.

(iv) One day an aged man came to Shaiikh Farid and, while introducing himself reminded him that he had met him in the Khānqah of Shaiikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyār Kāki. The old man was accompanied by his son who was extremely disrespectful and insolent. He entered into an acrimonious discussion with the Shaiikh and began to shout loudly. Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya and the saint's son, Maulāna Shihāb-u'd-din, were at the door. When they heard the lad talking insolently to the saint, Maulāna Shihāb-u'd-din entered the room and gave a slap on the face of the boy. The boy lost his temper and was about to strike at Maulāna Shihāb-u'd-din that Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya caught hold of his hands. The Shaiikh ordered his son Maulāna Shihāb-u'd-din to please the visitors. The Maulāna gave some cloth and money to both the father and the son who left the Jamā'at Khānah happy and satisfied.<sup>3</sup>

(v) One day a man came to the Shaiikh and requested him to do something to remove his misery and poverty. The Shaiikh advised him to recite Surah-i-Juma' every night.<sup>4</sup>

(vi) A poorly dressed durvesh came to the Shaiikh who gave him something and permitted him to depart. The durvesh remained standing and asked the Shaiikh to give him the comb which he had taken out from its cover and placed on the prayer-carpet. As the comb was not worth anything and had been long used by the Shaiikh, he did not reply to the request. The durvesh began to shout loudly. "If the Shaiikh gives me this comb, he will receive plenty of blessings."

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Arifin* pp 38-39

*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 147

Many people brought such problems to the Shaiikh. See *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, pp 236-38

<sup>2</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 127

*Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p 34

<sup>3</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 160

<sup>4</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 57

"Be off," he replied, "and do not disturb me any more I throw you and your blessings into the river<sup>1</sup>"

(vii) A *qalandar* came to the *Jamā'at Ahnānah* at the time when the *Shaiikh* was busy in his devotions in his room. He sat down on the *Shaiikh's* prayer-carpet which was lying outside the *hujrah*. Maulāna Badr-u'd-din Ishāq entertained the visitor and brought food for him. Having enjoyed the food, the *qalandar* took out some hemp-leaves from his leathern bag and began to prepare a mixture. Some drops fell on the *Shaiikh's* prayer-carpet. Maulāna Badr-u'd-din stepped forward and tried to stop the *qalandar* from polluting the *Shaiikh's* prayer-carpet. The *qalandar* got enraged and was about to hit the *kachkol* on Maulāna Ishāq that *Shaiikh* Farid rushed out from his room and caught the *qalandar's* hand. "Forgive him for my sake", said *Shaiikh* Farid. "The dervishes do not raise their hands," replied the *qalandar*, "but when they do so they do not take them down." "Throw it on that wall," said *Shaiikh* Farid. The *qalandar* threw the *kachkol* on a wall which fell down instantly.<sup>2</sup>

#### CROWD FOR TA'WİZ

Large crowds gathered everyday in the *Jamā'at Ahnānah* of *Shaiikh* Farid for *ta'wiz* (amulets).<sup>3</sup> One day *Shaiikh* Farid submitted to his *pir* *Shaiikh* Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyār Kākī. "People demand *ta'wiz* from me. What is your order? Should I write and give (them)?" "Power to get a work done lies neither in your hand nor in mine", replied *Shaiikh* Qutb-u'd-din, "*Ta'wiz* contains the name of God and the Word of God (Qur'ānic verse). Do write and do give to the people." From that time the *Shaiikh* began to distribute *ta'wiz* to the people, but it was very difficult for him to write so many *ta'wiz* with his own hand. He had, therefore, assigned this work to Maulāna Badr-u'd-din Ishāq. One day, when the Maulāna was not present in the *Jamā'at Ahnānah*, the *Shaiikh* ordered *Shaiikh* Nizām-u'd-din Auliya to prepare *ta'wiz*. As the number of supplicants was very large, *Shaiikh* Nizām-u'd-din got tired of writing them. The *Shaiikh* said, "I give thee permission to write amulets and give them to the people."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ahsar-u'l-Maqālis*, p. 202

It is said that on his way back from the *Jamā'at Ahnānah* this *duwesh* got drowned in a river which flowed near the town.

<sup>2</sup> *Ahsar-u'l-Maqālis*, pp. 130-131

<sup>3</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 200

So deep was the faith of the people in amulets that they came to the *Jamā'at Ahnānah* from distant places for this purpose. Once when *Shaiikh* Nizām-u'd-din Auliya started for Ajodhan, a neighbour, Muhammad who had a serious ailment, requested him to bring an amulet for him from *Shaiikh* Farid. When *Shaiikh* Nizām-u'd-din placed Muhammad's request before his master, the latter asked him to write a *ta'wiz* on his behalf. *Shaiikh* Nizām-u'd-din wrote the following Names of God on a piece of paper and presented it before the *Shaiikh* who touched it, read it and gave it back to him to be handed over to Muhammad. (الله الشافي الله الكافي الله المعالي)

*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 62

<sup>4</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 200

<sup>5</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 200

One day a hair fell from the beard of the Shaiikh. Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya respectfully picked it up and used it as *ta'wiz* with the permission of the Shaiikh <sup>1</sup>

Sometimes the Shaiikh asked the supplicants to bring sweets. It was generally believed that the Shaiikh's asking for sweets meant the fulfilment of the supplicant's desire <sup>2</sup>. The Shaiikh sometimes recommended the recitation of Qur'ānic Verses or other religious formulae <sup>3</sup> as well as the performance of certain prayers for the fulfilment of their desires and the removal of their complaints <sup>4</sup>. One day he asked his disciples in the *Jam'at Khānah* to recite one lac times the *Surah-i-Fatiḥah* <sup>5</sup> for his recovery from illness <sup>6</sup>.

### INITIATION

Amir Khurd has briefly described the manner in which Shaiikh Farid admitted people into his discipleship. He asked every new entrant to recite first of all the *Surah-i-Fatiḥah*, the *Surah-i-Ikhlāq* <sup>7</sup> and a few other sacred texts. Then he told him to confirm that he owed allegiance to him, his spiritual master, the elders of his *silsilah* and the Prophet of Islam. Later on, he asked him <sup>8</sup>

ما حضرت عزت عهد کردی کہ دست و پائی و چشم نگا داری و برہم شرع داری

(Solemnly promise to God that you will control your hands,  
your feet and your eyes and will follow the path of *Shari'at*)

When the Shaiikh bestowed his *Khirqah* (patched frock usually given to those disciples who were permitted to enrol disciples) on any body he recited the sentence

ولباس التقویٰ والک حیرو العابدۃ للہدقیں

(Thus is the dress of piety and the fruits of the next  
world are for the pious) <sup>9</sup>

The Shaiikh advised the recipients of *Khirqah* not to annoy anybody with their hands, eyes or tongues. He exhorted them to fix their hearts on Him alone and devote all their time to mystic contemplation and scrupulously avoid being involved in evil desires <sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p. 63

<sup>2</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p. 127

<sup>3</sup> Shaiikh Farid instructed Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya to repeat a formula and said

ابن دما را یادگیر و مواظبت نمائی تا ترا حایم خرد گردانم

(Commit this prayer to memory and repeat it so that I may appoint you my successor) *Siyar u'l-Auliya*, p. 116

<sup>4</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p. 57. See also pp. 24-26, 57-59. The Shaiikh teaches a particular prayer to Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya and then asks him to repeat it before him several times

<sup>5</sup> *Qur'ān* S. I

<sup>6</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 57

<sup>7</sup> *Qur'ān* S. CXII

<sup>8</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 323

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>10</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 323

Shaving the head<sup>1</sup> (*Mahliq kardan*) of a new entrant to the mystic discipline was a popular practice amongst the Chishtis. It was considered to be an external expression of a disciple's determination to sacrifice his all in the way of God. Sometimes Maulānā Badr-u'd-din Ishāq shaved the heads of the new disciples.

### FUTŪH AND ITS DISTRIBUTION

Enormous *futūh*<sup>2</sup> came to the *Jamā'at Khānah* of Shakh Farid. Almost every visitor who came to see him brought something for him.<sup>3</sup> It was the practice of the Shakh to give every visitor something out of the presents which others had brought.<sup>4</sup> Maulānā Badr-u'd-din Ishāq had to look after the proper distribution of *futūh*. The Shakh's orders were to distribute everything that came to the *Jamā'at Khānah* and not to keep anything for the morrow as it meant lack of trust in God and a negation of the principle of *tawakkul*.

### THE SUHRAWARDĪ KHĀNQAH—A CONTRAST

Not very far from Ajodhan was the *Khānqah* of Shakh Bahā'u'd-din Zakariyyā in Multān. Conditions in the Suhrawardī centre were entirely different from the Chishtī *Jamā'at Khānah*. It had an aristocratic air both as to its structure and organization.

Shakh Bahā'u'd-din's *Khānqah* was a sumptuous place. It covered an extensive area and was well-furnished. Separate accommodation was provided for every inmate and for the numerous visitors who flocked to it. On the contrary the *Khānqah*—or more appropriately the *Jamā'at Khānah*—of Shakh Farid was a cosmopolitan affair. All people, inmates as well as visitors, lived in a big hall, prayed there and slept there. Shakh Bahā'u'd-din's *Khānqah* was not open to every one.<sup>5</sup> Only those whom the Shakh considered worthy of his attention were allowed to stay there. The Chishtī *Jamā'at Khānah* had an open kitchen. Any one and everyone who

<sup>1</sup> For mystic explanation of this practice, see *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> The medieval Muslim mystics believed in two means of livelihood. *Zamīn-i-Ishāq*, the produce of waste land which the mystic and his family cultivated and *Futūh*, gifts and presents which people brought to his house unasked. The Chishtī mystics preferred *Futūh* to *Zamīn-i-Ishāq* because the latter brought the mystic into contact with the government and its officials. But strict rules were laid down with regard to the acceptance of *Futūh*. There was to be no begging for it and it was to be spent the moment it arrived. See

*Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 124-125, 41.

*Siyaar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 360, 361.

<sup>3</sup> *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 200.

<sup>4</sup> *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 160.

*Siyaar-u'l-Auliya* pp. 131, 66.

<sup>5</sup> *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 136.

happened to be there was welcomed to every meal.<sup>1</sup> The Suhrawardi saint, no doubt, loved good food and also loved to see others enjoy it,<sup>2</sup> but he never kept an open table.<sup>3</sup> Only those who were invited could take food at his table. The Suhrawardi *Khānqah* had permanent stocks of grain. There were granaries, coffers and treasures in the *Khānqah* of *Shaiḥ* Bahā-u'd-dīn.<sup>4</sup> The *Jamā'at Khānah* of *Shaiḥ* Farid and no such provision.

*Shaiḥ* Bahā-u'd-dīn never allowed the common people to visit his *Khānqah*. "I have nothing to do with the generality of the public<sup>5</sup>," he is reported to have said. On the other hand all sorts of people were welcomed at the *Jamā'at Khānah* of Bābā Farid.<sup>6</sup>

*Shaiḥ* Bahā-u'd-dīn was not accessible to people at all times. He had fixed hours and no one could disturb him at any other time. On the other hand, *Shaiḥ* Farid was accessible to all people at all times.

Bābā Farid lived under such straitened circumstances that he could not provide even proper food to his children who had to starve very often. The position of *Shaiḥ* Bahā-u'd-dīn was entirely different. He had the resources of a medieval *Iqta'dār*.<sup>7</sup> His sons were provided with all that wealth could offer. He engaged tutors and teachers for his sons, and paid them good allowances.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Chishtī saint considered it a moral obligation to entertain every visitor. If nothing was available in his house, he would sell his prayer-carpet or his wife's *chādar*, but would not deny point his visitor (See *Khawar-u'l-Majālis*, p. 75).

See also *Siyar-u'l-Awliyā*, (pp. 73-74) how Bābā Farid grinds millet with his own hand and then cooks bread for a *durwesh*.

<sup>2</sup> *Farūd'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> *Farūd'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> *Farūd'id-u'l-Fu'ād* pp. 223-224.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p. 130.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p. 74.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, 223.

<sup>8</sup> *Farūd'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 223.

*Jawāma' u'l-Kilām* p. 59.

## CHAPTER XI

### Last Days and Death

It was Muḥarram 5,664 A H (October 15, 1265) The aged saint whose health had completely broken down<sup>1</sup> as the result of constant fasts, vigils and penitences, lay on his bed suffering from an acute intestinal disease<sup>2</sup> He rose up to offer his 'Ishā prayer with the congregation at night Soon afterwards he became unconscious An atmosphere of gloom and anxiety hung over the entire *Jamā'at Khānah* and the mosque where he had been for years the centre of all religious activities All of a sudden he opened his eyes and asked "Have I offered my prayer?" "Yes", replied the attendants "Let me offer my prayer once again Who knows what is going to happen?" The saint again offered his prayer and then fell into a state of deep coma A little later he woke up again, startled and worried and put the same question to his attendants and offered his 'Ishā prayer for the third time As soon as he finished his prayer, he became unconscious again and with his lips softly uttering *يا حي يا قيوم* (O The Living and the Immortal) he went into eternal sleep<sup>3</sup> He was the last of the four great saints of the generation who died one after the other at an intervals of three years<sup>4</sup> *Shaykh* Sa'd-u'd-din Hamwi<sup>5</sup> was the first to depart for the world beyond Three

<sup>1</sup> He was so weak at this time that he could not stand for his supererogatory prayers and had to offer them in the sitting posture (*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p 184) During the last Ramadān of his life the *Shaykh* could not observe obligatory fasts due to illness (*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 52)

<sup>2</sup> This fatal malady was *Khalah* Literally the word means any sharp, piercing thing, as a needle or awl Technically it means wind in the bowels causing acute pain See also, *Khaw-u'l-Mayālis*, pp 292-293

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p 91

<sup>4</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 130

*Shaykh* Nizām-u d-din Auhā once told his audience 'How blessed were the times when these five saints were alive—*Shaykh* Abu l Ghaith Yemeni, *Shaykh* Saif-u'd-din Bākhārzi, *Shaykh* Sa'd-u d-din Hamwi, *Shaykh* Bahā u'd-din Zakariyyā and *Shaykh* u'l Islām Farīd-u d-din (*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 221) Amir Khurd writes

|                          |                              |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| شیخ اعظم فرید ملت و دین  | شیخ ابوالعبث و شیخ سیف الدین |
| شیخ سعدی حمود شیخ الوقت  | شیخ صاحب دمس بہا الدین       |
| مرد بر پیم پدر در یک عصر | در یکی نادش دنیا و دین       |

<sup>5</sup> Muhammad bin Al-Muwayyid bin Abi Bakr bin Abi al-Hasan bin Muhammad bin Hamwi (ob 625 A H /1227 A D according to *Nafahāt-u'l-Ums* 658 A H /1259 A D according to *Tārīkh-i-Gusidāh* 649 A H /1251 A D according to *Muymal-i-Fasāḥ*, 656 A H /1258 according to calculation based on *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*) He was an eminent disciple of *Shaykh* Najm-u'd-din Kubra (ob 1226 A D), and had close contacts with *Shaykh* Muhi u'd-din Ibn l 'Arabī and *Shaykh* Sadr-u'd-din Qūnwi He was a prolific writer and some of his books, e g *Ulūm-u'l-Haqāiq wa Hisham-u d-Dawāiq* (Cairo), are still held in high esteem in mystic circles His tomb is in Bahrabād For brief notices, see, *Tārīkh-i-Gusidāh* ed Browne, *Nafahāt-u'l-Ums* pp 177-278, *Mayālis-u'l-Ushshāq*, (published by Newal Kishore in 1314 A H) pp 78-80, *Tārīkh-i-Inqasuruf dar-Islām*, Dr Qāsim Ghani pp 392, 431, 496, 503, 545, 547.

years later died Shaiikh Saif-u'd-din Bākhārzi,<sup>1</sup> and three years after the later's expiry passed away Shaiikh Bahā-u'd-din Zakariyyā.<sup>2</sup> Three years after him Bābā Farid expired.

A few days before Shaiikh Farid's death Sayyid Muḥammad Kirmāni reached Ajodhan from Dehli. He found the ailing saint lying on a cot inside the *ḥujrah*, while, outside it, his sons and disciples were busy discussing the problem of his successor. Sayyid Muḥammad was eager to pay his respects to the Shaiikh but the Shaiikh's sons prevented him from doing so with the remark "This is not the time (to see him)". Indifferent to what they said, the Sayyid pushed open the doors of the *ḥujrah* and fell at the feet of the saint. The Shaiikh opened his eyes and asked affectionately "How are you Sayyid? How and when did you come here?" "This very moment", replied Sayyid Muḥammad. He thought of conveying the respects of Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya just after this reply but the fear of being misunderstood by the Shaiikh's sons dissuaded him from doing so. "If I will start with a reference to Sulṭān-u'l-Mashā'ikh (Nizām-u'd-din Auliya)," he said to himself, "Shaiikh e-Shuyukh-i-'Alam (i.e. Shaiikh Farid) would certainly confer his blessings on him and this thing would annoy the sons of Shaiikh-i-Kabir (i.e. Shaiikh Farid)". The Sayyid talked about other saints of Dehli first and then casually referred to Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya and conveyed his respects. On hearing Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-din's name the Shaiikh eagerly enquired "How is he? Is he happy?" Then the Shaiikh entrusted to Sayyid Muḥammad all the articles of mystic regalia—cloak, prayer-carpet and staff and instructed him to deliver them to Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya. It was a great disappointment to the sons of the Shaiikh and they furiously quarrelled with Sayyid Muḥammad Kirmāni for having deprived them of the most precious thing in their father's possession.<sup>3</sup>

In his last moments Bābā Farid was anxious to meet his son, Khwāja Nizām-u'd-din who was an officer in the army of Sulṭān Ghuvāth-u'd-din Balban and lived at Patiali, and his favourite disciple, Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya. "Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-din!" the Shaiikh cried in his last moments "But he is in Dehli!" Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-din had left for Dehli in the month of Shawwāl and the saint had told him that he

<sup>1</sup> Shaiikh Saif-u'd-din (ob. 698 A.H./1259 according to *Nafahat u'l-Uns*), a native of Bākhār (between Naighāpur and Herat, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* p. 357) was a disciple of Shaiikh Najm-u'd-din Kubra who had sent him to Bukhāra where he propagated the mystic principles and gathered round him a large number of disciples. He was the founder of the Firdausi Silsilah. He lies buried in Bukhāra. For brief notices, see *Tārīkh-i-Gundah*, p. 791, *Nafahat-u'l-Uns*, p. 276. *Ḥabīb u's-Siyar*, (Bombay 1857) p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Shaiikh Bahā-u'd-din Zakariyya (ob. 661 A.H./1262 A.D.) was an eminent disciple of Shaiikh Shihāb-u'd-din Suhrawardi (ob. 1234 A.D.). He laid the foundations of the Suhrawardi Silsilah in Multān and Upper Sind. For brief notices, *Fa'w'id ul-Fu'ad*, pp. 5, 6, 10, 10 etc., *Siyar-u'l-Arifin* pp. 103-129, *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Akhyar* pp. 121-122.



would not be present at the time of his death as he himself had not been present at the time of his master's death

Referring to his son, the Shaiikh said in his last moments, "Nizām-u'd-din is coming, but what is the use of his coming if I am not going to meet him" Nizām-u'd-din saw his father in a dream at Patiali and started for Ajodhan. When he reached Ajodhan it was sunset, the city gates had already been closed and he stayed in an inn outside the city walls. Next morning when he entered the city he saw the funeral of his father being brought out. The Shaiikh's descendants had decided to bury him in a graveyard outside the city where many martyrs lay buried and where the Shaiikh himself used to spend much of his time in prayers and meditation. Nizām-u'd-din, with a worldly wisdom born of close contact with the government of the day, shrewdly dissuaded his brothers from burying the saint outside the city. "If the Shaiikh is buried outside the city walls," he told his brothers and relatives, "people will come there, pray at the tomb and depart. Who will then take notice of the Shaiikh's family?" Nizām-u'd-din's advice was readily accepted. The funeral was brought back to the Shaiikh's house and he was buried at the place where his tomb stands to-day.<sup>1</sup>

Bābā Farid died as he had lived without worldly means. There was nothing in his house with which to purchase his shroud.<sup>2</sup> Amīr Khurd's grandmother gave a white sheet to cover his coffin.<sup>3</sup> The door of his house was pulled down to provide unbaked bricks for his grave.<sup>4</sup> The man whose offer of constructing a *puccā* house for the Shaiikh was refused by Bābā Farid, built a dome over his grave. This tomb was later repaired by Firuz Shāh Tughlaq.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l Auliya*, pp. 89-91

<sup>2</sup> While giving these details to his audience Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya recited the following couplet

پند حلاج را رسم کفن داری نمود. خانم بودوش فلان مامان داری نم داشت

*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* 212

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l Auliya*, p. 89

<sup>4</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 212

<sup>5</sup> *The Punjab Gazetteer* Vol II, p. 5

## CHAPTER XII

### Descendants of Baba Farid

Shaiikh Farid had five sons and three daughters. Their names are given as follows in the *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Khwāja Naṣir-u'd-dīn
  - 2 Khwāja Shihāb-u'd-dīn
  - 3 Shaiikh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulamān
  - 4 Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn
  - 5 Shaiikh Ya'qūb
  - 6 Bibi Mastūrah
  7. Bibi Sharifah
  - 8 Bibi Faṭmah
- 1 Khwāja Naṣir-u'd-dīn<sup>2</sup>

Khwāja Naṣir-u'd-dīn was the eldest son of Bābā Farid. The author of *Jawāhar-i-Faridi* says that he was an adopted son of the Shaiikh, but there is no justification for accepting this view. 'Alī Aqbar has mentioned some very dirty and scandalous stories about the sons of the Shaiikh, simply in an attempt to prove the saint's extraordinary miraculous powers. These stories deserve no credence and should be rejected as mere bazar gossip.<sup>3</sup>

Khwāja Naṣir was a pious and devoted saint. Like Shaiikh Hamid-u'd-dīn Sawālī Nāgaurī he preferred to live by cultivating the soil to depending on *Futuḥ*.<sup>4</sup> He had one son, Shaiikh Bāyazid, who was as pious and sincere in his devotions as his father. Shaiikh Bāyazid's son, Shaiikh Kamāl-u'd-dīn settled in Dhar and propagated the Chishtī *Silsila* in

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 186

<sup>2</sup> For biographical notices, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 180, *Gulār-i-Abrār* (MS), *Mir'āt u'l-Asrār* (MS) 556, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 63, *Jawāhar-i-Faridi* (MS) Bāb II Faṣl III *Ma'ārij-u'l-Walāyat*, (MS) Vol I p. 269 *Maṭlūb-u'l-Talab* (MS) ff 97, b 100 a.

<sup>3</sup> For details see *Jawāhar-i-Faridi*, Bāb 2 Faṣl III. Such stories reveal the utter lack of historical sense and the spiritual impoverishment of the author. He understood mysticism at a very low level and shut his eyes completely to canons of critical evaluation as propounded by the eminent Muslim scholars of the middle ages.

<sup>4</sup> Amir Khurd writes about him

روزگار بعدادت باری تعالی و نه رزاعت و حرانیت که لقبه خلل  
است گذرابیده و حدای تعالی را در خلای و ملاطعت کرد

*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 186

(He spent his life in praying God and in cultivating the soil which is a sanctioned way of acquiring livelihood. He prayed God in loneliness and in company.)

that region Shaikh Kamāl was a favourite disciple and Khalifah of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya<sup>1</sup>

## 2 Khwāja Shihāb-u'd-dīn<sup>2</sup>

The second son of Bābā Farīd was named after the author of '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*'<sup>3</sup> He was an erudite scholar and even the great Shaikh admired his charming and persuasive conversations. He lived in the *Jamā'at Khānah* of the saint and passed his days as a mystic devoted to prayer and penitence.<sup>4</sup> Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya's relations with him were most cordial.<sup>5</sup> No detailed information about Shaikh Shihāb is available in contemporary or semi-contemporary works. 'Ali Asghar says that he had six sons: Shaikh Hussām-u'd-dīn, Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-Hamīd, Shaikh Mas'ūd, Shaikh Muḥammad, Shaikh 'Ali Sher and Shaikh Jamāl.<sup>6</sup> Descendants of these sons of Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn settled in Delhi, Fatehpur, Chandwar, Jaunpur, Tanda, Sursa, Rohtāsarh, Phulwārī and some other places in Bihār and Bengāl.

## 3 Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān<sup>7</sup>

He was the third son of Bābā Farīd. The Shaikh's family decided to place him on the *Sajjadah* of the saint.<sup>8</sup> He is reported to have received *Khalīfat* directly from the saints of Chisht.<sup>9</sup> It is said that there was some controversy about mystic succession in Chisht. Khwāja Zoor and Khwāja Ghaur came to Delhi from Chisht in order to persuade Shaikh 'Ali Chishtī, to return to his home and ascend the *sajjadah* of his deceased brother. Balban had great regard for Shaikh 'Ali and threatened to abdicate if the saint left Delhi.<sup>10</sup> The two

<sup>1</sup> Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya gave a coin to him and ordered him to settle in Mālwan (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 198). He became immensely popular in that region and people flocked to him from far and near. Sultān Mahmūd Khālījī constructed a beautiful tomb over his grave and made a grant of jāgīr to his *Khānqah* (See *Gulzar-i-Asrār*, MS).

<sup>2</sup> For brief notices, see *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 75, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 188-189, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, pp. 69-70, *Mawāl-u'l-Asrār* (MS), pp. 555-557, *Jawāhar-i-Farīd* (MS), *Bāb 2 Faṣl III*, *Ma'ārif u'l-Walāyat* (MS) Vol I pp. 209-270, *Maṭṭub u'l-Talīb* (MS) f. 100 a.

<sup>3</sup> Shaikh Nizām u'd-dīn Auliya informs us that he was born on the day when the '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*' was first brought before the Shaikh. *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> Muhammad Bulāq Chishtī's statement that شیخ شهاب الدین لشکریدش مود *Maṭṭub u'l-Talīb* (MS) f. 100 a. is not supported by earlier authorities.

<sup>5</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 75, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 187.

<sup>6</sup> *Jawāhar-i-Farīd* (MS) *Bāb 2 Faṣl III*.

<sup>7</sup> For brief notices, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* pp. 188-189, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār* p. 70, *Mawāl-u'l-Asrār* (MS) p. 557, *Jawāhar-i-Farīd* (MS), *Bāb 2 Faṣl III*, *Ma'ārif-u'l-Walāyat* (MS) Vol I pp. 270-271, *Maṭṭub u'l-Talīb* (MS) f. 100 a.

<sup>8</sup> No contemporary or semi-contemporary authority refers to his having received *Khalīfat* from his father. This is an unfortunate but significant omission.

<sup>9</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 188-189.

<sup>10</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 212.

<sup>11</sup> Uṣṣā' u'd-dīn Baranī says that Balban had great faith in saints and divines (*Tārīkh-i-Firās Shāhī* p. 46). He has named some divines who were held in high esteem by the Sultān. Shaikh 'Ali's name does not occur in this list.

The author of *Mawāl-u'l-Asrār* (MS p. 557) and *Ma'ārif-u'l-Walāyat* (MS Vol I p. 271) have remarked that Balban was the disciple of Shaikh 'Ali. No earlier authority corroborates this statement.

emissaries passed through Ajodhan Shaiḥ Farīd gave them a hearty welcome, and requested them to place two caps, which were provided by the saint himself, on the heads of his sons, Shaiḥ Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān and Shaiḥ Nizām-u'd-dīn<sup>1</sup>

Shaiḥ Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān was succeeded by his son Shaiḥ 'Alā-u'd-dīn<sup>2</sup> who was only 16 when he sat on the *sayyādah* of his father. For more than half a century<sup>3</sup> he graced the *Khānqah* of Shaiḥ Farīd and attracted people from far and near. His fame had travelled upto Alexandria<sup>4</sup>. His continuous fasts, prayers, vigils and penitences have been praised by Amīr *Khusrāw*, Amīr *Khurda*, *Diā*-u'd-dīn Baranī and others. Amīr *Khusrāw* writes about him

|                                              |                                     |
|----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ملائی دنیا و دین شیخ رشید را در عصر          | که شد برتر از قایم مقام شیخ مرید    |
| رئاب نور تجلی چو کرد رویش مرقی               | هزار چشمه حورشید ارحمن بچکید        |
| مگر که دید ثریا بلندی قدرش                   | که ناقص است حواهد بر آسمان حدید     |
| همی بروشدی ارباب را در حورشیدی               | رو در رادن حورشید انداز که دید      |
| چو سکان سپهر حوادث ایمن گشت                  | کسیکه در بند دین عرصت تو حزید       |
| بر سر منته دو چرخ مهر را بجم کرد             | رشتی رگ حاش دروایی رشم کشید         |
| رفی بخدمت شب در سواد مدحت تو                 | چو پیر در شب قدر و چو طفل در شب عید |
| حیات بخش جهانی دم مسیحتی نیست                |                                     |
| چو حد گفنی خسرو که مهر تو بمزید <sup>5</sup> |                                     |

*Diā*-u'd-dīn Baranī calls him "an embodiment of virtue and devotion,"<sup>6</sup> and says that he was one of the great blessings that were vouchsafed to India in the reign of Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn *Khālīj*. He fasted continuously and, with the exception of the two 'Id days and the three days of *Taḥrīq*,<sup>7</sup> nobody ever saw him eating anything in the day.<sup>8</sup> He never stepped out of his *Khānqah* except for Friday prayers.<sup>9</sup> "The reputation of Shaiḥ 'Alā-u'd-dīn," the author of *Siyar u'l-Auliya* informs us, "for spiritual greatness spread in the world during his lifetime and his sacred name came to be reckoned among the great saints

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar u'l-Auliya*, pp. 138-139

It is said about Shaiḥ Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān that he did not shave his head (*Mahluq na had*) like the *Chishti* saints of India but grew long locks and parted them from the middle (*farg hard*) like the *Shaiḥ* of Chisht. *Siyar u'l-Auliya*, p. 138

<sup>2</sup> For biographical notices, see *Siyar u'l-Auliya* pp. 193-196, *Tārīkh-i-Firās Shāhī* Baranī p. 347, *Strat-i-Firās Shāhī* (MS) p. 170, *Akhbār u'l-Akhyār*, pp. 94-95, *Ma'ārif u'l-Wuḍū'iyat* (MS) Vol I pp. 273-274

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar u'l-Auliya* p. 193, *Akhbār u'l-Akhyār* p. 95

<sup>4</sup> *Rahlah*, Ibn Batṭutah, Vol II p. 13

The Moorish traveller could not remember his name correctly and has confused him with his grandfather, Shaiḥ Farīd

<sup>5</sup> Cited by Shaiḥ 'Abd-u'l-Haqq Muhaddith in *Akhbār u'l-Akhyār* pp. 94-95

<sup>6</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Firās Shāhī*, p. 347. The anonymous author of *Strat-i-Firās Shāhī* says that he spent his whole life in *ghayr* and prayers (MS p. 170)

<sup>7</sup> Three days after the feast of sacrifice at Mecca. Fasting on the 'Id and the *Taḥrīq* days is not permitted

<sup>8</sup> *Siyar u'l-Auliya*, p. 194

<sup>9</sup> *Siyar u'l-Auliya*, p. 194

Thus in Ajodhan, Dipalpur and the hills on the side of Kāghmīr, the people, out of their excessive love and faith, have put up buildings and constructed cenotaphs which they call his mausoleums. They accept offerings, distribute charities and complete the recitations of the *Qur'ān* <sup>1</sup>

Whenever any body expressed his desire to be enrolled as his disciple, Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn said "Take him to Bābā's (i.e. Shaikh Farīd's) grave and give him the mystic cap" <sup>2</sup> Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughlaq was so deeply impressed by his piety that he became his disciple. <sup>3</sup> In his days the *Jamā'at Khānah* of Shaikh Farīd became a haven of refuge for the victims of cruelty and oppression. Amīr Khurd tells us that so great was the saint's awe and fear that even the Sultān could not touch those persons who took shelter in his *Jamā'at Khānah* <sup>4</sup>

One very significant anecdote about Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn is mentioned in the *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*. Shaikh Rukn-u'd-dīn Multānī, a leading Suhrawardī saint of India, once visited the tomb of Bābā Farīd on his way back from Dehli to Multān <sup>5</sup>. As he was coming out of the tomb, he met Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn and embraced him and said: "God has given you such firmness that no one can move you from your place, but I am harried from place to place owing to some relatives who are attached to this world". When Shaikh Rukn-u'd-dīn left the place, Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn went home, bathed and changed his clothes <sup>6</sup>. This was reported to Shaikh Rukn-u'd-dīn who said "You do not know the status of Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn. It is permissible for him to behave like this. The smell of this world emanates from me while he leads a life free from this contamination" <sup>7</sup>

Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn was buried near the mausoleum of Bābā Farīd. Muḥammad bin Tughlaq built a magnificent dome over his tomb <sup>8</sup>.

"چنانکه صیت عظمت و کرامت او هم در حیات عزیز او میان عالم  
مبشر شد و اسم مبارک او میان آسمانی اولیاء مذکور و مشهور گشت، چنانکه  
در دیار اجودهی و دیپالپور و جنالی که صیت کشمیر است حلق آن دیار از  
عایت صیت و اعتقاد مقامها ساختند و قبرها کرده و بنام روضه مدبر کردند  
تیمین و تبرک می گیرند و در آن موقع صدقات و خدمات می کنند"

*Siyar-u'l Auliya*, p. 193

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l Auliya*, p. 194

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l Auliya* p. 196 *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 95. All the three great Tughlaq Sultāns had faith in Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn. See *Tārīkh-i-Firās Shāhī*, *Shams-i-Siraj* 'Alfi pp. 27, 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Siyar-u'l Auliya* p. 196

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Baṭṭūṭah writes "This Shaikh is afflicted with an apprehension of the uncleanness of others. And from this I seek the protection of God. He does not shake hands with any one and does not go near any one, and as soon as his garment touches that of another he washes it." (*The Rehla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah*, Translated by Dr. A. M. Husain p. 70 Arabic Text Vol II, p. 13. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah has used the word *wasas* for the Shaikh's obsession.

<sup>6</sup> *Siyar-u'l Auliya*, p. 195

<sup>7</sup> *Siyar-u'l Auliya*, p. 196

<sup>8</sup> *Siyar-u'l Auliya*, p. 196 *Rehla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah* Vol II p. 13. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah calls them "learned".

Shaiḵh 'Alā-u'd-dīn had two sons Shaiḵh Mu'izz-u'd-dīn and Shaiḵh 'Alam-u'd-dīn<sup>1</sup> Shaiḵh Mu'izz-u'd-dīn was a pupil of Maulānā Wajih-u'd-dīn Pā'ili<sup>2</sup> He succeeded his father, but Muḥammad bin Tughlaq called him to Dehli and later on sent him to Gujrāt, where he was martyred by the rebels<sup>3</sup> Shaiḵh 'Alam-u'd-dīn was appointed Shaiḵh-u'l-Islām of Hindustān by Muḥammad bin Tughlaq who held him in high esteem<sup>4</sup> He lies buried by the side of his father

Shaiḵh Mu'izz-u'd-dīn's son, Afdāl-u'd-dīn Fuḍail, succeeded his father as his ḫalīfah at Ajodhan He had two sons Shaiḵh Munawwar and Shaiḵh Sa'd-u'd-dīn The former succeeded his father<sup>5</sup> Shaiḵh 'Alam-u'd-dīn's son Shaiḵh Mazhar-u'd-dīn was given the office of Shaiḵh-u'l-Islām after the death of his father<sup>6</sup>

The descendants of Shaiḵh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulamān settled in different parts of the country Some continued to live in Ajodhan, others migrated to Gujrāt Some of the Farīdī families in Hyderabad trace their pedigree to Shaiḵh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulamān

#### 4 Shaiḵh Nizam-u'd-dīn<sup>7</sup>

He was the favourite son of the Shaiḵh<sup>8</sup> and, according to Shaiḵh Naṣir-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehli, Bābā Farīd desired to make him the sole inheritor of his spiritual greatness<sup>9</sup> The Shaiḵh never resented his bold and frank talk before him<sup>10</sup> He possessed great worldly wisdom (کیا مصلحت فاهر) and was known for his bravery Amīr Khurd calls him *Haider-i-Thānī*<sup>11</sup> He was a soldier in the army of Sulṭān Ḡhiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban (664-686

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 196

Maulānā Wajih-u'd-dīn Pā'ili was a devoted disciple of Shaiḵh Nizam-u'd-dīn Auliya He was an eminent scholar of his age and few could rival him in his grasp and knowledge of the Muslim law It is said that once when he visited the tomb of Shaiḵh Farīd he heard a voice from the grave "Welcome Abū Hanīfah Pā'ili" He lies buried in Dehli near the Hauḍ-i-Shamsi *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 290 For brief notices See *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 296-298 *Akhbar u'l-Akhyar* p. 98, *Gulsār-i-Ibrār* (MS)

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 196

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 196

<sup>4</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 197

<sup>5</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 197

<sup>6</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 197

<sup>7</sup> For biographical notices see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* pp. 180-190, *Akhbar u'l-Majālis*, p. 224 *Akhbar u'l-Akhyar*, p. 70, *Mir'at u'l-Aṣrār* (MS) pp. 557-558 *Jawāhar i-Farīd* (MS) Bab 2 Part III, *Majālis u'l-Walāyat* (MS) Vol. I pp. 271-272 *Majhūb u'l-Talḥīn* (MS), f. 100a

<sup>8</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 189-190

<sup>9</sup> *Khair u'l-Majālis*, p. 224

It is said that once Shaiḵh Farīd was sailing in a boat with his sons and disciples everyone except the Shaiḵh and his disciple, Shaiḵh Nizam-u'd-dīn Auliya was asleep All of a sudden the Shaiḵh called "Nizam!" Shaiḵh Nizam-u'd-dīn Auliya who was awake replied "I am present" "I mean my son Nizam-u'd-dīn", replied the Shaiḵh After sometimes the Shaiḵh called "Shaiḵh Nizam-u'd-dīn!" "I am present", replied Shaiḵh Nizam u'd dīn Auliya "Come here" asked Bābā Farīd, "Mas'ūd wanted to bless his son Nizam God wants to bless thee"

<sup>10</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 189-190

<sup>11</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 190

A H /1266-1287 A D) and fell fighting against the Mongols in Ajodhan.<sup>1</sup> His body could not be discovered among the slain.<sup>2</sup> He had a son, Khwāja Ibrāhīm, who had married an aunt of Amīr Khurd. His son, Khwāja 'Aziz-u'd-din was educated by Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-din Auliya and lived with him in his Jamā'at Khānah. Before the sons of Shaiḫ Badr-u'd-din Ishāq, Muḥammad Imām and Khwāja Musa, reached the Jamā'at Khānah of Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-din Auliya, it was the duty of 'Aziz-u'd-din to recite sacred verses before meals. The Shaiḫ nodded his head and said "Blessings! Blessings!" He was buried at the foot of Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-din Auliya's grave. Amīr Khurd also refers to a sister of his and her family.<sup>3</sup>

### 5 Shaiḫ Ya'qūb<sup>4</sup>

He was the youngest son of Bābā Farid. He had studied the *Qur'ān* with Maulānā Badr-u'd-din Ishāq. He possessed intuitive intelligence (*nafs-i-girā*) and was highly cultured and self-sacrificing. He had adopted the manners of the *malūmātī*<sup>5</sup> mystics and lived in obscurity. The author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* says that he disappeared near Amroha.<sup>6</sup>

Shaiḫ Ya'qūb had two sons—Khwāja 'Aziz-u'd-din and Khwāja Qādi. Both of them were educated by Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-din Auliya. Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-din Auliya sent Khwāja 'Aziz-u'd-din to Deogir,<sup>7</sup> where he settled long before Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughlaq's Deccan experiment. Years afterwards when Amīr Khurd reached Deogir in the wake of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, he was very much impressed by the

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar u'l-Auliya*, p. 190. But the author of *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar* says that there were two opinions about the death of Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-din. Some said that he fell while fighting against the Mongols who had attacked Ajodhan; others said that he was in the army of Sulṭān 'Alā-u'd-din Khalji and died in the Ranthambhor Campaign (MS p. 558). See also *Ma'ārij u'l-Walāyat* (MS) Vol. I p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> This is Amīr Khurd's statement (*Siyar u'l-Auliya* p. 190). Maulānā 'Abd-u'r-Ramān Chishtī (*Mir'at-u'l-Asrar* MS p. 558) and Ghulām Mu'in-u'd-din (*Ma'ārij u'l-Walāyat* MS, Vol. I p. 271) however say that he was buried in Ranthambhor and that his grave was visited by people.

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 199.

<sup>4</sup> For brief biographical notices, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 190-191, *Aḥḥād-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 70, *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar* (MS), p. 558, *Ma'ārij u'l-Walāyat* (MS) Vol. I pp. 272-273.

<sup>5</sup> The *malūmātī*s believe that the true worship of God is best proved by the contempt in which the devotee holds by his fellow men. On the basis of this argument they justify not only the total neglect of the religious injunctions of Islam, but commit the most outrageous sins in order to create contempt for themselves in the hearts of the people.

<sup>6</sup> *Siyar u'l-Auliya*, p. 191.

<sup>7</sup> *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar* (MS) p. 558.

<sup>8</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 198.

Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-din Auliya ordered Shaiḫ Kamāl-u'd-din (see *Supra*) to proceed to Mawlah and Khwāja 'Aziz-u'd-din to proceed to Deogir and put one *jalālī* (i.e. old coin) each in their hands. "What purpose will this one *jalālī* serve?" 'Aziz-u'd-din asked his friend. "The Shaiḫ has given us *jalālī* (dignity)," replied Kamāl-u'd-din, "Keep your mind at rest."

spiritual greatness and prestige of Shāikh 'Aziz-u'd-dīn<sup>1</sup>. He was martyred in Deogir<sup>2</sup>. Khwāja Qādi lies buried on the *Chabūtrah-i-Yāran*<sup>3</sup>.

#### 6. Bībī Mastūrah<sup>4</sup>

She was devoted to prayers and penitence. She left two sons Khwāja 'Aziz-u'd-dīn Ṣūfī and Khwāja Kabir-u'd-dīn. Both of them passed their lives in the *Jamā'at Ahlīyah* of Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā who had very great love and affection for them.<sup>5</sup> Khwāja 'Aziz u'd-dīn was a pupil of Qādi Muḥī-u'd-dīn Kāshānī<sup>6</sup>. He was an excellent calligraphist<sup>7</sup>. He recorded the conversations of Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā under the title *Tuhfat-u'l-Abrār-fī-Karāmat-u'l-Akhyār*<sup>8</sup>. The text of this *maifūz* was revised by the Shāikh himself. His son Qutb-u'd-dīn Hasan received a *Khikīfat Nūmah* from Shāikh Naṣir-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehli and propagated the Chishtī mystic principles.<sup>9</sup> Shāikh Kabir-u'd-dīn was, like his brother, devoted to prayers and penitence. Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā had a very high opinion about him.<sup>10</sup>

#### 7. Bībī Sharīfah<sup>11</sup>

She became a widow in her early youth and did not marry again. She was intensely religious-minded and Bābā Farīd used to say "Had it been permitted to give the *Khikīfat Nūmah* of the Shāikh and his *Sarjūdah* to a woman, I would have given them to Bībī Sharīfah<sup>12</sup>". The Shāikh is also reported to have said with regard to her

وَأَوَّكَانَ الْإِنْسَاءُ كَمَثَلِ هَذَا الْعَصَلِ عَلَى الرَّجَالِ<sup>13</sup>

(If other women had been like her, women would have taken precedence over men.)

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> For biographical notices, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 191, *Mir'āt-u'l-Abrār* (MS) p. 558, *Jawāhir-i-Farīd* (MS).

<sup>5</sup> Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā was once displeased with Maulānā Wajih-u'd-dīn Pā'īl for having occupied in his *maifūz* a place higher than that of Khwāja 'Aziz u'd-dīn, 'descendant of my master'. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 202. See also *Ahḥbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 95.

<sup>6</sup> Qādi Muḥī-u'd-dīn Kāshānī was an eminent disciple and *Khikīfat* of Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā. He was distinguished for his erudition and learning. For biographical notices see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* pp. 204-205, *Khawar-u'l-Majālis*, pp. 150-151, 202-3.

<sup>7</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 202, *Ahḥbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 95.

<sup>8</sup> This *maifūz* is extinct now.

<sup>9</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 203.

<sup>10</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 203 (Addenda).

<sup>11</sup> For brief biographical notices, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 191, *Mir'āt-u'l-Abrār*, pp. 558-9, *Luṣṣā'at-Abrār* (MS), *Jawāhir-i-Farīd* (MS).

<sup>12</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 191.

<sup>13</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 191.



## 8. Bibi Fāṭimah

She was married to Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ishāq, a devoted disciple of Shaikh Farid. She had two sons Khwāja Muḥammad Imām and Khwāja Mūsā. When Maulānā Ishāq died and the family was left destitute without anyone to look after it, Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya sent Sayyid Muḥammad Kirmānī to Ajodhan to request Bibi Fāṭimah to come to Delhi and settle there. It was not long after Bibi Fāṭimah's arrival in Delhi that rumours began to circulate that Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya wanted to marry her. When Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din heard about this he was deeply shocked. He left for Ajodhan in distress and when he came back to Delhi, Bibi Fāṭimah was already dead.<sup>1</sup>

Khwāja Muḥammad Imām and Khwāja Mūsā were educated under the fostering care of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya. The former also received a *Khitāfat Nāmāh* from Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya. He used to admit disciples during the lifetime of the saint.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 192-193.

<sup>2</sup> For Khwāja Imām and Khwāja Mūsā, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 199-202.

## CHAPTER XIII

### Spiritual Successors of Baba Farid

The author of *Siyar-u'l-Aqtab* says that Bābā Farid had a very large number of *Khalifahs*<sup>1</sup>. Amīr Khurd, however, refers only to the following successors of the great saint

- 1 Shaikh Najib-u'd-din Mutawakkil
- 2 Maulānā Badr-u'd-din Ishāq
- 3 Shaikh Jamāl u'd-din Hānswī
- 4 Shaikh Nizām u'd-din Auliyā
- 5 Shaikh 'Ārif
- 6 Shaikh 'Alī Šābir
- 7 Maulānā Fakhr-u'd-din Šafāhānī<sup>2</sup>

Later writers have added several other names to this list. Shaikh Allāh Diyāh and Maulānā Mu'in-u'd-din 'Abd-u'llah have referred to Shaikh Shams-u'd-din Turk Pānīpatī,<sup>3</sup> Shaikh Wahārū,<sup>4</sup> Shaikh Zāun-u'd-din Damīshqī,<sup>5</sup> Shaikh 'Alī Shakar Razī, Shaikh 'Alī Shakar Bār, Shaikh Muḥammad Sirāj, Shaikh Jamāl Kāmil,<sup>6</sup> Maulānā Dā'ūd Pālahī,<sup>7</sup> Muḥam-

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Aqtab* p. 175. Mu'in-u'd-din 'Abd-u'llah (*Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat* MS Vol. I p. 207) makes very curious statements in connection with the *Khalifahs* of Shaikh Farid. He says that Shaikh Farid had 10,000 *Khalifahs* on earth, 18,000 in the sea, 400 in the air, 400 on the sky and 400 on the *Kuh-i Qul*. The whole account is saturated with superstition and is incredible for our purposes.

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Aqtab* pp. 167-185.

Shaikh Fakhr-u'd-din Šafāhānī casually mentions in *Siyar-u'l-Aqtab* (p. 145). No detailed account of the saint is available. He settled at Bilgram. Another *Khalifah* of the Shaikh was Shaikh Wahid. Saviyid Muḥammad Ghusū Dardāz refers to him as a successor of Bābā Farid (*Jawāma' u'l-Akām* p. 341), but detailed account of this saint also is not available.

<sup>3</sup> He was the principal *Khalifah* of Shaikh Ala'u'd-din 'Alī Ahmad Šābir of Kalyān. Allāh Diyāh says that he had received the robe of *Khalifat* from Bābā Farid also, but his statement is not confirmed by earlier authorities. For brief biography and notes, see, *Siyar-u'l-Aqtab* pp. 184-197. *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat* (MS), pp. 600-703.

<sup>4</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Aqtab*, p. 177. Our earlier authorities do not refer to him at all.

<sup>5</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Aqtab* p. 177. Mu'in-u'd-din 'Abd-u'llah says that Shaikh Zāun-u'd-din was a descendant of Shaikh Farid (*Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat* (MS) Vol. I p. 283).

<sup>6</sup> No book except *Siyar-u'l-Aqtab* has referred to Shaikh 'Alī Shakar Razī, Shaikh 'Alī Shakar Bār, Shaikh Muḥammad Sirāj and Shaikh Jamāl Kāmil. Mu'in-u'd-din 'Abd-u'llah says that probably Shaikh 'Alī Šābir and Shaikh 'Alī Lāhiq became known as Shaikh 'Alī Shakar Razī and Shaikh 'Alī Shakar Bār. *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat*, Vol. I p. 267.

<sup>7</sup> Maulānā Dā'ūd Pālahī was an eminent disciple not *Khalifah*, of Shaikh Farid. His piety and devotion have been praised in several *zadhkhras* and mystic works. See, *Khawarizma'at* pp. 118-119, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār* p. 70, *Gulzar-i-Abrār* (MS), *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat* (MS), Vol. I, p. 259.

mad Shāh Ghurī,<sup>1</sup> Maulānā Muḥammad Multānī,<sup>2</sup> Maulānā 'Alī Bihārī,<sup>3</sup> Muḥammad Naḡshāpurī,<sup>4</sup> Maulānā Hamid-u'd-dīn,<sup>5</sup> Shāikh Yūsuf,<sup>6</sup> Shāikh Muntajab-u'd-dīn,<sup>7</sup> Shāikh 'Alī Lāḥiqq<sup>8</sup> and Maulānā Taqī-u'd-dīn<sup>9</sup> as Khalīfahs of the great saint. It is difficult to attach any value to this list, given by later writers, because it is not corroborated by any earlier authority.

An account of some of his leading khalīfahs is given below.

#### 1. Shakh Jamāl-u'd-dīn Hānsavī<sup>10</sup>

He was the oldest disciple of Bābā Farid. As noted earlier the Shāikh used to advise every disciple whom he granted his khalīfat Nāmāh to get the document endorsed by him. Amīr Khurd has mentioned the story of a saint who somehow secured a khalīfat Nāmāh from Bābā Farid, but, when he approached Shāikh Jamāl for endorsement, he refused to

<sup>1</sup> Both the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* (p. 64) and the *Siyar-u'l-Awliyā* (p. 85) refer to him as a very sincere and devoted disciple of Shāikh Farid. However, the Shāikh did not appoint him his khalīfah.

<sup>2</sup> His name is mentioned in the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* (p. 55) as a casual visitor to the *Jam'at Khānah* of Shāikh Farid. No contemporary or even semi-contemporary authority supports Mu'in-u'd-dīn 'Abd-ullāh's statement that he was a khalīfah of the great saint. *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat*, Vol. I, p. 257.

<sup>3</sup> There is a casual reference to him in the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* (pp. 52-59). I do not know on what authority has Mu'in-u'd-dīn 'Abd-ullāh (*Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat*, Vol. I, p. 257) included him among the khalīfahs of the great saint. The fact that he was one of those three dear disciples of the Shāikh whom he had sent to a graveyard to pray for his health is not enough to prove that he had received khalīfat also.

<sup>4</sup> He is referred to in earlier authorities as a disciple of Shāikh Farid (*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 76). There is no evidence to prove that he received khalīfat from the Shāikh.

<sup>5</sup> See Supra p. 47. He had, it seems, received khalīfat from Shāikh Farid who had asked him also to settle in a village. The Shāikh told him:

”تو در آن دیو برو، سائی شو که تو این رمان مثل سارده شدی که ستره

در مقابل مناب نوردهد، تو در آن دیو برو سائی شو“ *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 205.

<sup>6</sup> The *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* (pp. 31-32) definitely informs us that the Shāikh had not assigned any spiritual work to him.

<sup>7</sup> He may, with some justification, be considered a khalīfah of Shāikh Farid though no earlier authority has explicitly mentioned this fact. Amīr Khurd says that when Bābā Farid gave his khalīfat Nāmāh to Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya he instructed him to show it to Shāikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn in Hānsavī and to Qādī Muntajab in Dehli (*Siyar-u'l-Awliyā*, p. 116). It means that Shāikh Muntajab was one of those senior khalīfahs in whom the Shāikh had great confidence. Mu'in-u'd-dīn 'Abd-ullāh says that he was the elder brother of Maulānā Burhān-u'd-dīn Gharib and had settled in Deogiri at the order of his spiritual master (*Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat*, Vol. I, pp. 261-262). Maulānā Ghulam 'Alī Azād Bilgramī has based his account of Maulānā Muntajab-u'd-dīn on the *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat*. See his *Raudhah-i-Awliya*, pp. 14-16.

<sup>8</sup> The *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat* (Vol. I, pp. 266-267) contains a confused account of Shāikh 'Alī Lāḥiqq. This account has been copied by later writers. See, *Abshar-i-Awliya*, Vol. I, p. 314.

<sup>9</sup> Mu'in-u'd-dīn 'Abd-ullāh says that he was a brother of Maulānā Dā'ūd Pālahī, *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat*, Vol. I, p. 268.

<sup>10</sup> For brief biographical notices, see *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, pp. 42, 54 etc. *Siyar-u'l-Awliya*, pp. 178-184, *Jawāma'u'l-Kuam*, p. 233. *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār*, pp. 67-68, *Gulshar-i-Abdār* (MS), *Mu'āl u'l-Asrār* (MS), pp. 583-587. *Jawāhir-i-Farid* (MS), *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat* (MS), Vol. I, pp. 250-252. The stories mentioned about him in the *Siyar-u'l-Awliya* (P. 170) deserve no credence.

sign it and tore it to pieces. Bitterly offended at this act of Shāikh Jamāl he came to Bābā Farīd who refused to do anything in the matter. "I cannot put together what Jamāl has torn to pieces," replied Bābā Farīd <sup>1</sup>

Bābā Farīd had great love and affection for Shāikh Jamāl. It is said that his stay in Hānsī for twelve years was out of love for him <sup>2</sup>. He used to say "Jamāl is our *jamāl* (beauty)" <sup>3</sup>. Shāikh Bāhā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā is reported to have offered to exchange all his disciples for him. Bābā Farīd replied that any such transaction was possible regarding *māl* (property) but not in case of *jamāl* (beauty) <sup>4</sup>.

When Shāikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn joined the discipline of Bābā Farīd, he was the *khātīb* of Hānsī. As noticed earlier, Bābā Farīd demanded from his higher disciples complete severance of all ties with the government of the day and as the post of the *khātīb* was maintained by the state, Shāikh Jamāl had to give it up. Once, while on his way to Ajodhan, Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyyā stayed with Shāikh Jamāl at Hānsī. Shāikh Jamāl requested him to inform Shāikh Farīd about his miserable circumstances and abject poverty. When Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyyā conveyed this message, Shāikh Farīd remarked

"اورا بگوئی چون ولایت کسی دادا شود اورا واجب است استعانت" <sup>5</sup>

(Tell him that when a *Wilāyat*—spiritual territory—is assigned to anyone, it is his duty to bear its burden)

Shāikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn visited Ajodhan seven times to see his master <sup>6</sup>. When indifferent health prevented him from undertaking long journeys, he sent his maid-servant as messenger. "How is my Jamāl?" Bābā Farīd once asked her. "From the time the *Khawāja* has become a disciple of yours," she replied, "He has given up his village property and the office of *khātīb*. He is afflicted with starvation and sufferings." Bābā Farīd was pleased at this information. "God be praised," he said, "(Jamāl) is happy" <sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-ul Auliyyā*, p 177 بارے کونہ جمال را ما خواہم دوخت

Later writers have woven strange legends round this incident. Some say that the famous saint of Kalyar (in Sahāranpur district) was the person whose *Khilāfat Nāmāh* was torn by Shāikh Jamāl. Anti-Jamāl feelings have long been a feature of the Sālari branch of the Chishtī order and considerable literature has been produced on that topic. Now that controversy has almost died out.

<sup>2</sup> & <sup>3</sup> *Siyar-ul Auliyyā*, p 178

<sup>4</sup> *Uzūl-ul-Abrar*, M's

<sup>5</sup> *Siyar-ul Auliyyā*, p 180

Shāikh Naṣir-u'd-dīn Chiragh-e Dehlī has explained that استعانت meant 'turning the heart towards Allah from all other things'.

(توجه القلب الى الله من كل الوجود)

<sup>6</sup> *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād*, p 42

<sup>7</sup> *Siyar-ul Auliyyā*, pp 180 181



Shaikh Jamāl was a man of great learning. His two works—a Persian *Diwān*,<sup>1</sup> and an Arabic treatise-*Mulhamāt*<sup>2</sup>—have survived.

Shaikh Jamāl died during the lifetime of his master. His maid-servant, who was known as Umm-u'l-Mummin, took Shaikh Jamāl's son,<sup>3</sup> Maulārā Burhān-u'd-dīn, to the great Shaikh Maulānā Burhān. He was a young lad at that time, but the Shaikh granted him his *ḫulāfat-Nāmah*<sup>4</sup> and asked him to benefit from the company of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn at Dehli. The maid-servant was surprised at the Shaikh's generosity in conferring the *ḫulāfat* on a boy of tender age. She submitted "*Khawāja Burhān-u'd-dīn bālā hai*" (*Khawāja* Burhān-u'd-dīn is a (mere) child). Shaikh Farid replied "*Ponun hā chānd bhi bālā hauṭā hai*" (The crescent is also small).<sup>5</sup>

Shaikh Burhān-u'd-dīn lived for some time with Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya but he did not enrol any disciples. "It is not meet for me," he used to say, "to enrol anyone as my disciple when Hadrat Nizām-u'd-dīn Muḥammad is there."<sup>6</sup> Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Munawwar,<sup>7</sup> a distinguished disciple and *Ḫalīfah* of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya, was his son.

<sup>1</sup> This *diwān* is in two volumes. One volume contains *ghazals* the other contains *rubāis* and *qut'ahs*. (Printed by Pirji Rafi u'd-dīn, Tehsilāri Dehli, in 1889 in the *Ḥawāmah-i-Hind Press*, Dehli). A MS of this *diwān* is preserved in the Library of the University of Liverpool (Bibliotheca Nov. 300). See *Islamic Research Association Miscellany*, Vol. I, 1948 pp. 167-174.

<sup>2</sup> *Mulhamāt* was published in 1306 A. H. from Alwar (Yusufi Press). It is full of Sufistic aphorisms—sublime in ideas and sweet in expression. See also *Contributions of India to Arabic Literature*, pp. 82-85.

<sup>3</sup> Shaikh Jamāl had two sons. The elder one was a *majdhūb* but sometimes he recovered consciousness and spoke very wisely. Once he told Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya "knowledge is a great veil." When asked to explain what he meant he said "Knowledge is distinct from the truth and whatever is distinct from the truth is a veil." *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 134.

For a detailed account of the descendants of Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn see *Sirāj-u'n-Nasab* by Muḥammad Siyāḥ-u'l-Ḥaqq (Published in 1313 A. H. Printed at Dār-u'l-Islām Press, Qadīyan).

<sup>4</sup> Shaikh Farid also bestowed upon him the prayer carpet and the staff which Shaikh Jamāl had left and remarked "You have the same authority from me as your father had." *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 182-183.

<sup>5</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 183.

<sup>6</sup> He had very great respect for Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya. Every time that he visited Dehli Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn ordered a cot to be placed for him in his *Jamā'at* *Ḍakhān* but Shaikh Burhān-u'd-dīn, out of respect for the Shaikh, never slept on it. It is said that whenever he went to see the Shaikh he changed his clothes and perfumed himself. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 183-84.

<sup>7</sup> He was one of those three great saints of Muḥammad ban Tughlaq's reign—Shaikh Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Chirāgh and Shaikh Shams-u'd-dīn Yahyā being the other two—who kept alive the traditions of the Chishtī *silsilah* at a very critical moment in its history and refused to subordinate themselves to the dictates of the Sultān. For biographical details, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 247-253. *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāh* Aflī, p. 423-424. *Aḥḥās-u'l-Akhyār* pp. 87-88. *Mir'āt-u'l-Asvār*, MS pp. 641-643, *Gulzar-i-Abrār* MS, *Mas'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat* MS Vol. pp. 298-303. *Mas'āb-u'l-Tālibin*, MS f. 119 a.

2 Shaykh Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil<sup>1</sup>

He was the youngest brother of Shaykh Farīd<sup>2</sup>. He had come to Dehli to complete his education but decided to settle there permanently. He passed his days in abject poverty "For seventy years," Shaykh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā once informed his audience, "Shaykh Najīb u'd-dīn lived in the city. He had neither property nor pension. He lived resigned to the will of God along with his family and passed his days happily. I have not seen anyone like him in the city"<sup>3</sup>. He had a small house consisting of a small room in which he lived with his wife and two sons. There was a broken *chappar* (thatched roof) over this room and there he used to meet his visitors<sup>4</sup>. Once, some *qalandars* came to see and greet him on an 'Id day. Shaykh Najīb-u'd-dīn had nothing in his house to entertain them. He thought of selling something in order to buy food for them. He looked at his wife's *dāman*, it was torn and patched and could fetch no price. He glanced at his prayer-carpet, it was no better. When all attempts to provide something for the visitors failed, Shaykh Najīb offered cold water to them<sup>5</sup>. A pious and saintly lady of Dehli, Bibi Fāṭimah,<sup>6</sup> very often helped the starving family of Shaykh Najīb<sup>7</sup>.

Shaykh Farīd had granted his *ḡulāfat* to him, but we have no record of his disciples. He paid nineteen visits to Ajodhan to meet his brother<sup>8</sup>. When he was leaving Shaykh Farīd after his nineteenth visit, the saint did not recite the *Fātiḥah* to pray that his younger brother may come to see him again as was his custom on former occasions. Shaykh Najīb never saw his brother again and died a few months before Shaykh Farīd departed for the world beyond. He was buried outside the city near the *Durwāzah-i-Mandah*<sup>9</sup>. Two references to him in the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* show that he was a man of scholarly tastes<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For brief biographical notices see *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ūd* pp. 14-15, 28, 78-79, *Khair-u'l-Mayālis*, pp. 75-76, *Siyar-u'l-Auliā*, pp. 167-169, *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, pp. 97-101, *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyār* pp. 59-60, *Gulzar-i-Abrār* (MS), *Mir'at-u'l-Abrār*, MS, *Ma'ārij u'l-Wulāyāt* (MS).

<sup>2</sup> The names of Shaykh Farīd's brothers are given by Maulānā Jamālī (*Siyar-u'l-Arifin* p. 12). His eldest brother Izz-u'd-dīn died at Kahtwāl (*Siyar-u'l-Arifin* p. 32). Amīr Khurd says that Shaykh Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil had a brother in Badā'un (*Siyar-u'l-Auliā* p. 167).

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliā*, p. 167.

<sup>4</sup> *Khair u'l-Mayālis*, p. 75.

<sup>5</sup> *Khair-u'l-Mayālis* p. 75. See also, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* pp. 136-137 for the practice of Shaykh Badr u'd-dīn Ghaznawī.

<sup>6</sup> *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyār*, pp. 286-287, *Siyar-u'l-Arifin* pp. 101-102.

<sup>7</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 445.

<sup>8</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 42.

<sup>9</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliā*, p. 169.

<sup>10</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, pp. 28, 26.

### 3. *Mawlānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq*<sup>1</sup>

He was an eminent scholar of Dehli. The circumstances under which he became a disciple of Shaikh Farid have been discussed in Chapter XV. The Shaikh had assigned to him the duties of his personal service. He was also in charge of the general supervision of the *Jamā'at Ahnāh* and used to write *ta'wīz* (amulet) on behalf of the Shaikh. Besides, it was his duty to draft certificates of *Khulāfat*.

Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn did not enrol any disciple during the life-time of his Shaikh, except Malik Sharf-u'd-dīn Kubra, Muqta' of Dipalpūr, about whom the Shaikh had explicitly ordered him to admit into his discipline.<sup>2</sup>

Shaikh Ishāq wrote a scholarly book on Arabic grammar-*Taṣrif-i-Badari*<sup>3</sup>. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya had an autographed copy of this book. It is extinct now.

Shaikh Farid had married his daughter Bibi Fāṭimah to him. After the Shaikh's death his relations with Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulamān became unpleasant and, at the suggestion of Sayyid Mahmūd Kirmānī, he shifted to the Juma' Masjid of Ajodhan and began teaching the *Qur'ān* to small boys. His devotion to his master was so deep that he did not long survive him. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya, who had very great respect for him and was much indebted to him, called his family to Dehli and took keen personal interest in the training and education of his sons.<sup>4</sup>

### 4. *Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya*<sup>5</sup>

He was the most outstanding disciple and *Khālīfah* of Shaikh Farid. For about half a century he lived and worked in Dehli. All sorts of men, says Baranī, visited him and found spiritual solace in his company.<sup>6</sup> Under him the *Chishtī Silsilah* reached its highest watermark and his disciples set up *Chishtī* mystic centres in practically every important part of the country.<sup>7</sup> Almost all the descendants of the disciples of Shaikh Farid as well as Shaikh Farid's own descendants accepted him as their spiritual leader.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For brief biographical notices see *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* pp. 59, 74 etc., *Siyar u'l-Auliya* pp. 162-178, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, pp. 116-130, 137-224, *Siyar-u'l-Arifin* pp. 42-84 etc., *Ahhbār-u'l-Akhbār*, pp. 60-67, *Mir'āt-u'l-Ashrār* MS pp. 36-584, *Ma'driy-u'l-Wilāyat*, Vol I pp. 252-255.

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 173.

<sup>4</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* pp. 171-172.

<sup>5</sup> For his life and teachings, see *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, *Jawāma u'l-Kilām* abid *Durar-i-Nizāmiyah* (MS). See also, *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, pp. 59-91, *Ahhbār-u'l-Akhbār* pp. 54-59, *Mir'āt-u'l-Ashrār* (MS), pp. 561-581, *Ma'driy-u'l-Wilāyat*, (MS) Vol I pp. 88-120, *Gulzar-i-Abrār* MS, *Maṭlab-u'l-Tahbīb* MS, *Ā'in-i-Akhbār*, II pp. 208-209, *Tārīkh-i-Firāghiyah*, Vol II, pp. 391-398, *Shajarat-u'l-Anwār* (MS), *Iqtibās-u'l-Anwār* (MS) II 182a-186b, *Nafahāt-u'l-Uns*, pp. 452-453.

<sup>6</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Firāz Shāh* p. 363.

<sup>7</sup> *Ā'in-i-Akhbār*, II, p. 208.

<sup>8</sup> e.g. Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Munawwar, Shaikh Kabir-u'd-dīn, Shawja 'Azis-u'd-dīn, Shawja Muḥammad, Shaikh Kamāl-u'd-dīn.

Shāikh Nizām-u-d-dīn Auhī developed faith in Shāikh Farīd at a very tender age. One day he was reading a *naʿī* (short poem written in praise of the Prophet) in a school (*maktab*) at Badāʿūn that a *qawwāl* (musician), Abū Bakr by name, who had visited Multān and Ajodhan, came to his teacher and began to narrate some interesting experiences of his journey in the Punjāb. Abū Bakr started with an account of the *ghānqah* of Shāikh Bahā-u-d-dīn Zakariyyā and said that even the slave girls of the Shāikh were all time busy in religious meditation and, while grinding corn, they recited the names of Allah. These stories, however did not touch Shāikh Nizām-u-d-dīn's heart, but when the *qawwāl* praised the piety of Shāikh Farīd his soul was moved.<sup>1</sup> He developed sudden and intense love for Shāikh Farīd and began to repeat his name after every prayer. He never went to bed unless he had thought of him.<sup>2</sup> His friends came to know of this and whenever an occasion arose they asked him to swear by Shāikh Farīd. Four years passed like this. At the age of sixteen he started for Dehli to complete his education at the feet of the eminent scholars of the capital. An old man, 'Awad, accompanied him. 'Awad was a staunch believer in the spiritual greatness of Shāikh Farīd. Whenever he saw the slightest danger of being molested by robbers or by wild beasts, he cried out impatiently "O *pīr*! Rush up" "Oh *pīr*! We are proceeding under your protection." Shāikh Nizām-u-d-dīn did not know who the saint was whom he was so imploring. When he inquired, 'Awad respectfully mentioned the name of Shāikh Farīd.<sup>3</sup> The great saint of Ajodhan was already 'his vision in the night and his dreaming in the day'. 'Awad's reference to him supplied fuel to the burning emotions of Shāikh Nizām-u-d-dīn.

It was a strange coincidence that on reaching Dehli he alighted in an inn which was in the neighbourhood of Shāikh Najīb-u-d-dīn Mutawakkil,<sup>4</sup> brother of Shāikh Farīd. Shāikh Nizām-u-d-dīn became a frequent visitor to Shāikh Najīb's house and developed close friendship with him.

Shāikh Nizām u-d-dīn pursued his studies diligently and very soon earned a position of distinction in the academic circles of Dehli. One day he went to Shāikh Najīb-u-d-dīn Mutawakkil and requested him to pray to God for his appointment as Qādi. Shāikh Najīb-u-d-dīn, who saw marks of spiritual greatness on the forehead of this young scholar, very significantly remarked "God forbid that you be that (Qādi)."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 149

*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 100

<sup>2</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 149

*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 100

<sup>3</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 140

*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 100

<sup>4</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 149

*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 100

<sup>5</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 28



Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn's love for Shaikh Farid increased infinitely in the company of Shaikh Najīb. One day he started for Ajodhan without making any provision for the journey<sup>1</sup>. He met the great Shaikh on a Wednesday in 655 A H<sup>2</sup>/1257 A D. The Shaikh discerned in him a true successor to him, to Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kāki and, in fact, to all the great Chishtī mystics of the past. He welcomed him with the couplet

ای آتش فراقت دلها کباب کرده  
سبب اشتیاق جانها خراب کرده

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn whose heart was overflowing with emotions unsuccessfully tried to summon up courage to tell in detail how eager he himself was to see him, but the awe of the Shaikh made him tremble. It was with great difficulty that he could utter this single sentence

اشتیاق بالقدس عظیم عالم بوده است

(I) had strong desire to meet you)

"Every new comer is nervous," remarked Shaikh Farid and soothed his nerves. That very day Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn was admitted into the discipleship of Shaikh Farid and his head was shaved.

All the disciples of the great Shaikh who lived in the *Jamā'at Khānah* used to sleep on the ground, but the Shaikh honoured his young disciple from Delhi by ordering Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq to provide a cot for him. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn had great hesitation in sleeping on it because many *ḥuffāz* and scholars were sleeping on the ground but Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn told him that obeying the Shaikh's order was higher than every other consideration.<sup>4</sup>

After his initiation Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn submitted to his master "Should I give up my studies and devote exclusively to supererogatory prayers, *aurād* and *wazā'if*?" "I never ask any one to discontinue his studies," replied Shaikh Farid, "Carry on both of them, and (finally) whichever gets the upper hand, devote yourself to that. Some knowledge is also necessary for a *durwesh*."<sup>5</sup>

One very significant advice which was given by Shaikh Farid to his young disciple on his first visit to Ajodhan was that one should

<sup>1</sup> See *Nafahāt-u'l-uns*, p. 452 : Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn spends whole night in the *Jumma'Masjid* of Delhi in the morning he hears the *mu'adhdhin* recite the following verse "Has the time not come for the true believers that their hearts may tremble at the remembrance of the Lord," (*Qur'ān* s. 57 10) and decides to proceed to Ajodhan and lay his head at the feet of Shaikh Farid.

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 106

<sup>3</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 30

*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 107

<sup>4</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 107

<sup>5</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 107

placate one's enemies and should fulfil all his obligations<sup>1</sup> When Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā returned from Ajodhan he cleared the debt he owed to a cloth dealer and offered to pay the price of a book which he had borrowed and lost<sup>2</sup>

Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-dīn visited Ajodhan three times during the lifetime of the great Shaiḫ<sup>3</sup> During his second visit he studied with the Shaiḫ six chapters of the *Qur'ān*, five chapters of the '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*' and two other books<sup>4</sup>

In Jamādī I, 664 AH /1265 AD, Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-dīn visited his master for the last time. The Shaiḫ showered many blessings on him and said "I have given you both the worlds Go and take the kingdom of Hindustān"<sup>5</sup>

On Ramadān 13, 664 AH /1265 AD, Shaiḫ Farīd granted his *ḥulāfat Nāmāh* to Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā who devoted his whole life to the propagation of the Chishtī mystic principles Baranī's account of the Shaiḫ's popularity and influence deserves to be quoted in full He writes "Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-dīn had opened wide the doors of his discipleship and admitted (all sorts of people into his discipline) nobles and plebians, rich and poor, learned and illiterate citizens and villagers, soldiers and warriors, free-men and slaves<sup>6</sup> and these people refrained from many improper things, because they considered themselves disciples of the Shaiḫ, if any of them committed a sin, he confessed it and vowed allegiance anew The general public showed an inclination to religion and prayer, men and women, young and old, shop-keepers and servants, children and slaves, all came to say their prayers Most of these who frequented the Shaiḫ's company regularly said their *Chāḡh*<sup>7</sup> and *Ishrāq* prayers Many platforms with thatched roofs over them were constructed on the way from the city to Ghayāthpur, wells were dug, water-vessels were kept, carpets were spread, and a servant and a *ḥāfiz* was stationed at every platform so that the people going to the Shaiḫ may have no difficulty in saying their supererogatory prayers Owing to regard for the Shaiḫ's

<sup>1</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p 140

*Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p 330

<sup>2</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 140

<sup>3</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 42

<sup>4</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 163

*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p 106

<sup>5</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp 131-132

<sup>6</sup> For the Shaiḫ's explanation for admitting all sorts of people into his discipleship see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp 346-348, where the author gives a long extract from Nizām-u'd-dīn Baranī's *Hasrat Nāmāh*

<sup>7</sup> In addition to the five compulsory (fard) prayers—*Fajr*, *Zuhr*, '*Asr*', *Maghrib* and '*Ishā*'—there are five recommended (*sunnat*) prayers—(i) *Ishrāq*, offered after sunrise, (ii) *Chāḡh*, offered at forenoon, (iii) *Zawāl*, offered after mid-day, (iv) *Aḍḍin* offered at twilight and (v) *Tahajjud* offered between mid-night and early dawn

discipleship all talk of sinful acts had disappeared from the people. There were no topics of conversation among most people except inquiries about the prayers of *Chāḡh*, *Awābīn* and *Tahajjud*. How many genuflections (*rak'ats*) they contained? What *Surah* of the *Qur'ān* to recite in each *rak'at*? What invocations (*du'ā*) are to follow each prayer? How many *rak'ats* does the *Shaikh* say every night, and what part of the *Qur'ān* in every *rak'at* and what *darūd*s (Blessing on the Prophet)? What was the custom of *Shaikh* Farid and *Shaikh* Bakhtiyār? Such were the questions asked by the new disciples of the old. They inquired about fasting and prayer and about reducing their diet. Many persons took to committing the *Qur'ān* to memory. The new disciples of the *Shaikh* were entrusted to the old. And the older disciples had no other occupation but prayer and worship, aloofness from the world, the study of books on devotion and the lives of saints. And God forbid that they should ever talk or hear about the worldly affairs or ever turn towards the house of worldly men, for such things they considered to be entirely sinful and wrong. Perseverance in supererogatory prayers alone had gone to such an extent that at the Sultān's court many amīrs, clerks, guards, and royal slaves had become the *Shaikh*'s disciples, said their *Chāḡh* and *Ishrāq* prayers and fasted on the 13th, 14th and 15th of every lunar month (*'Ayyām-i-Biḍ*) as well as during the first ten days of Zil Hujjah. There was no quarter of the city in which a gathering of the pious was not held every month or after every twenty days with mystic songs that moved them to tears. Many disciples of the *Shaikh* finished the *tarāwīḥ*<sup>1</sup> prayers in their houses or in the mosques. Such of them as were persevering passed the whole night standing in their prayers throughout the month of Ramadān, on Fridays and during the days of the Hajj. The higher disciples stood in the prayers for a third or three-fourths of the night throughout the years, while others said their morning prayers with the ablution of their 'Ishā prayer. Some of the disciples had, by now reached to eminence in spiritual power through this education.

"Owing to the influence of the *Shaikh*, most of the Mussalmāns of this country took an inclination to mysticism, prayers and aloofness from the world, and came to have a faith in the *Shaikh*. This faith was shared by 'Alā-u'd din and his family. The hearts of men having become virtuous by good deeds, the very name of wine, gambling and other forbidden things never came to any one's lips. Sins and abominable vices appeared to people as bad as infidelity. Out of regard for one another the Mussalmāns refrained from open usury and regrating (*shakkār*), while the shop-keepers, from fear, gave up speaking lies, using false weights and deceiving the ignorant. Most of the scholars and learned men, who frequented the *Shaikh*'s company, applied themselves

<sup>1</sup> The prayers, of usually twenty *rak'ats*, recited at night during the month of Ramadān.

to books on devotion and mysticism. The books, *Qūt-u'l-Qulūb*,<sup>1</sup> *Ithā-u'l-'Ulām*<sup>2</sup> and its translation,<sup>3</sup> *'Awārif*,<sup>4</sup> *Kaḡhf-u'l-Maḡyūb*,<sup>5</sup> *Sharḥ-i-Ta'arruf*,<sup>6</sup> *Risālah-i-Qaḡḡasrī*,<sup>7</sup> *Murqād-u'l-'Ibād*,<sup>8</sup> *Maḥtūbāt-i-'Aṣn-u'l-Qudāt*<sup>9</sup> and the *Lawā'ih* and *Lawāma* of Qādī Hamīd u'd-dīn Nāḡaurī<sup>10</sup> found many purchasers, as also did the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fa'īd* of Amīr Hasan owing to the sayings of the *Shaiḡh* which it contains. People asked the booksellers about books of devotion. No handkerchief was seen without a tooth brush (*miswāk*) or a comb tied to it. Owing to the great number of purchasers, the price of water and leathern vessels became high. In short God had created the *Shaiḡh* as a peer of *Shaiḡh* Junaid<sup>11</sup> and *Shaiḡh* Bāyazīd<sup>12</sup> in these later days and adorned him with that divine love which cannot be understood by human wisdom. The virtues of a *Shaiḡh* — and the art of leading men (in the mystic path) — found their fulfilment and their final consummation in him.

رےں فی مطلب نامی  
گان خدم شد است بر نظامی

(Do not try to obtain eminence in this art, for it has come to an end with Nizāmī)

"On the 5th of every Muḡarram, which is death-anniversary of *Shaiḡh*-u'l-Islām *Shaiḡh* Farīd-u'd-dīn, people flocked to the house of the *Shaiḡh* from the city and from different parts of Hindustān"<sup>13</sup>

*Shaiḡh* Farīd had said "Nizām-u'd-dīn! You will be a tree under whose soothing shadow people will rest"<sup>14</sup> *Shaiḡh* Nizām-u'd-dīn proved himself true to the expectations of his master

<sup>1</sup> Written by Maulānā Abū Tālib Maḡḡī (ob. 336 A H / 996 A D), published from Cairo in 2 Volumes in 1310 A H / 1892 A D

<sup>2</sup> Written by Imām ḡhazzālī (ob. 505 A H / 1111 A D) published from Cairo in 1311 A H / 1893 A D

<sup>3</sup> i.e. *Kūmīyā-i-Sa'ādāt* (Newal Kishore, Lucknow, 1324 A H / 1907 A D)

<sup>4</sup> Written by *Shaiḡh* ḡhīb-ud-dīn Suhrawardī (ob. 1234 A D), first published in Cairo on the margin of *Ithā* of Imām ḡhazzālī

<sup>5</sup> Written by *Shaiḡh* 'Alī Hujwērī (ob. after 1074 A D), Persian text (Gulzār-i-Hind Steam Press, Lahore) English translation by R A Nicholson (Luzac 936)

<sup>6</sup> *Kutub-i-Ta'arruf* was written by Abū Bakr Muḡammad bin Ibrāhīm Bukḡārī (ob. 390 A H / 999 A D). It is one of the classics on Islamic mysticism. The author of *Kaḡhf-u's-samān* quotes a saying of 'the mystics about this book "لولا التعريف لما عرف التصوف"

<sup>7</sup> Written by Abū'l-Qāsim 'Abd-u'l-Karīm Quḡḡasrī (ob. 465 A H / 1072 A D) in 438 A H / 1046 A D. Published from Cairo in 1346 A H / 1927 A D

<sup>8</sup> Written by Najm-u'd-dīn Rādī in 1223 A D. See, Browne *Literary History of Persia*, Vol II, pp 495-496

<sup>9</sup> 'Aṣn-u'l-Qudāt Hamadānī (ob. 525 A H / 1130 A D)

<sup>10</sup> See infra. Bābā Farīd taught *Lawā'ih* to one of his disciples

<sup>11</sup> Abū'l-Qāsim B Muḡammad B Junaid (ob. 298 A H / 910 A D). See *Kaḡhf al-Maḡyūb* (Tr) pp 128-130

<sup>12</sup> Bāyazīd Tufūr Bustāmī (ob. 261 A H / 875 A D). See *Kaḡhf al-Maḡyūb* (Tr) p 106 et seq

<sup>13</sup> *Tārīḡh-i-Firās Shāhī*, pp 343-347

<sup>14</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Ashyā*, p 117

5. Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn 'Alī B. Ahmad Sāwī

He was the founder of the Šābri branch of the Chishtī Silsilah. He is said to have been a prominent disciple of Shaikh Farīd. It is most unfortunate that no early account of this great saint is available. No contemporary or even semi-contemporary historian or *tadhkirahnavis* has referred to him. Literature about him becomes profuse from the time of Shāh Jahān, when the author of *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb* wrote about him and the circumstances that led to the discovery of his grave in Kalyar many years after his death.<sup>2</sup> The Šābri Silsilah however came into the full light of history when Shaikh Ahmad 'Abd-u'l Haqq<sup>3</sup> (ob 837 A H / 1433 A D) established a great mystic centre at Rudaulī (in the Barābankī district) and began to propagate the teachings of the Silsilah.

6. Shaikh 'Arif

A very brief and casual reference to him is found in the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*<sup>4</sup> and the *Siyar-u'l-Awliyā*<sup>5</sup>. The Shaikh had sent him to Siwistān. Once the governor of Uchch gave him one hundred *tankaḥs* and asked him to take them to Shaikh Farīd. Shaikh 'Arif offered only 50 *tankaḥs* to the Shaikh and retained the rest for himself. Shaikh Farīd smiled and said " 'Arif ! You have divided the amount on a brotherly basis " 'Arif was covered with shame and confusion as he heard these words. He placed the whole amount before the saint and implored his forgiveness. Bābā Farīd asked him to shave his head and renew his discipleship. After this repentance Shaikh 'Arif led a life of extreme devotion and the Shaikh granted him a *ḫulāfat Nāmah* and ordered him to go again to Siwistān. Shaikh 'Arif brought back the *ḫulāfat Nāmah* and submitted to his master. "This responsible work is beyond the capacity of a weak man like myself, I cannot undertake the duties of the work of the great Shaikh " The Shaikh permitted him to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca from where he never returned.

<sup>1</sup> For brief biographical notices see, *Aḥḥbār-u'l-Aḥḥyār* p. 69, *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb* pp. 177-184, *Mu'ad-u'l-Asrār* (MS) pp. 626-631, *Mu'arri-u'l-Wilāyat* (MS) Vol. I, pp. 263-264.

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, p. 183. Kalyar, near Roorkee in the Saharanpur District of the Uttar Pradesh.

<sup>3</sup> For brief biographical notices, see *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, pp. 215-222, *Aḥḥbār-u'l-Aḥḥyār*, pp. 182-184, *Mu'ad-u'l-Asrār*, (MS) p. 917 *et seq*.

<sup>4</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 215-216.

<sup>5</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Awliyā*, pp. 184-185.

## CHAPTER XIV

### The Man

*"His life was gentle, and the elements  
So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up  
And say to all the world, "This was a man!"*

What strikes a biographer of Shaykh Farid most is his excellence as a man. Truthful, honest, sincere, affectionate and considerate—he was a living embodiment of all the moral virtues which he preached to his disciples and visitors. His warm loving nature responded to the trifles of human sufferings. He had that loftiness of spirit which grows out of unselfishness and which elicits spontaneous veneration. Persons having little understanding of the mystic principles and ideology have disfigured these saints by attributing meaningless miracles to them. Shaykh Farid's miracles were the miracles of a deeply sympathetic soul and his greatness was the greatness of a morally perfect man.

The greatest attribute of Shaykh Farid in the eyes of his nearest disciple, Shaykh Babr-u'd-din Ishāq, was his absolute sincerity and complete absence of hypocrisy. His private life was a perfect mirror of his public life and he never said or did different things in public and in private. There was complete harmony between his thought, words and actions. This was, as Maulānā Ishāq correctly said, a unique and wonderful things<sup>1</sup>

Shaykh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya was the dearest disciple of Shaykh Farid and had been very close to his master. He never thought of his miracles. His heart was moved when he thought of the saint's اوصای پسندیده (pleasant qualities) کمال بزرگی (perfection of saintliness) مایهت لعل (excellent learning) and لطافت (kindness or courtesy)<sup>2</sup>

The first thing that captured a visitor's heart was the complete absence of all hateful distinctions and discriminations in his *Jamā'at Aṭṭānah*. Rich and poor, old acquaintances and new-comers, were received by him with the same courtesy and warmth of affection<sup>3</sup>

"Nothing will bring greater reward on the Day of Judgement", Shaykh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya used to say, "than bringing happiness to the hearts of Mussalmāns and of men."<sup>4</sup> Bābā Farid's whole life

<sup>1</sup> *Famā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 74

*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 65

<sup>2</sup> *Famā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 96

<sup>3</sup> *Famā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 74, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 128

was spent in bringing happiness to the hearts of men. He attended to every problem that his visitors brought to him, not because he desired any reward in the next world, but because he could not bear to see any human suffering.<sup>1</sup>

Shaikh Farid was a man of poise. He behaved with the utmost coolness in the face of the gravest provocation.<sup>2</sup> His forbearance in moments of extreme excitement often turned an enemy into a devoted disciple. One day he was sitting on his carpet when 'an insolent person'<sup>3</sup> came to him and shouted "Why do you display yourself like an idol?" "I have nothing to do in this matter," replied the Shaikh with unruffled temper, "God has made me what I am." "No," shouted the man, "You have made yourself like this." "No," replied the Shaikh, "God has made everything that exists." The man felt ashamed and went away.<sup>4</sup> Humility and modesty was deeply ingrained in his nature. Whenever he described his spiritual experiences he concealed his identity and created the impression as if he was referring to some other saint.<sup>5</sup>

Shaikh Farid was always ready to forgive and forget. Persons who annoyed and vexed him were forgiven by him. The son of the magician Shihab was responsible for his prolonged illness, but he forgave him and asked the governor of Ajodhan also to forgive him.<sup>6</sup>

Shaikh Farid believed in pleasing even his enemies. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya says that the Shaikh used to exhort his disciples with the maxim "One should placate one's enemies."<sup>7</sup>

With this pleasant, forgiving and sympathetic nature, Shaikh Farid became a lovable figure. People who visited him were captured by his charm and his sympathetic looks inspired faith and confidence in their hearts.

<sup>1</sup> One day five harsh-tempered and self-willed dervishes came to see the Shaikh. When they were leaving the *Jamā'at Khānah*, the Shaikh advised them not to follow the desert route on their journey. They paid no heed to his warning and proceeded in the forbidden direction. The Shaikh sent some of his disciples to see what route they had taken. When he came to know that they had disregarded his advice, he began to weep and cry. Shaikh Nizam u'd-din tells us

چون این خبر شنید هائی هائی بگریست، چنانکه کسی ماتم داره

Sometime afterwards news was brought that those dervishes were swept away by a cyclone. *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 251

<sup>2</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, pp. 125, 126

<sup>3</sup> See also *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 84. Qādi 'Abd-u'llah talked ill about the Shaikh and his followers in the *Jāma Masjid* after the Friday prayer, the Shaikh did not quarrel with him. Instead, he left the mosque and advised his disciples to be patient.

<sup>4</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 48, has یکی از بے دکان Jamālī says he was a *qalandar* (p. 35)

<sup>5</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* has خجل شد و نارگشت (p. 48). Jamālī says that he was so much impressed by the Shaikh's behaviour that he placed his head on the ground and praised his forbearance. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 35

<sup>6</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 82, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 336

<sup>7</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 178

<sup>8</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 140, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 330

## CHAPTER XV

### The Scholar

"Muslim mysticism," remarks Professor Muḥammad Habīb, "is a post-graduate creed!" An ignorant man was considered incapable of undertaking the mystic journey because he could not distinguish between *reality* and *illusion* and was, therefore, always in danger of getting stuck in a spiritual morass. "An illiterate mystic," Shaiḫ Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakḥṭiyār Kākī told Shaiḫ Farid-u'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar, "falls a prey in the hands of the devil!"

True to the highest traditions of medieval mysticism, Shaiḫ Farid strove for the best education that was possible in his days. Early in his life, he had desired to abandon his studies and follow Shaiḫ Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakḥṭiyār Kākī, but the saint advised him to complete his education before turning to the discipline of his soul. After years of strenuous effort and struggle he completed his education and attained to a high degree of scholarship.

Pedantic display of knowledge — so common a characteristic of the '*ulāmā-i-ṣāḥib*' — was regarded by the Shaiḫ with contempt. Knowledge, he said, should bring in its wake humility, sympathy and understanding. If it created arrogance and pride it defeated its own purpose. He used to say

مقصود از حوادث علم شریعت برای عمل است نه از برای ابدائی حلقی<sup>1</sup>

(The aim of acquiring knowledge of the religious law ('*ilm-i-Sharī'at*) is to act upon it and not to harass people.)

Though a profound scholar himself, he never used his scholarship to overawe others. There was a magnetic force in his humility and sympathy which is the essence of true scholarship. (1) Maulānā Dīd-u'd-dīn was an eminent scholar of Dehli. He knew many sciences but had no knowledge of *Fiqh* (Jurisprudence) and *Naḥv* (Syntax). Once he went to see the Shaiḫ but was afraid that the Shaiḫ might ask him about matters which he did not know. But to display his learning or to make others feel the meagreness of their knowledge was not the Shaiḫ's habit. He asked Maulānā Dīd-u'd-dīn about those things only which he had fully mastered and the Maulānā returned from his company self-confident and elated.<sup>2</sup> (2) Shaiḫ Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq

<sup>1</sup> *Early Islamic Mysticism*, Vidyasutha Commemoration Volume, p. 71

<sup>2</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Firgīnah*, Vol. II, p. 363

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 85

<sup>4</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 85.



who later on became the Shaikh's disciple and son-in-law, was an eminent scholar of his day. He was held in high esteem in the literary circles of Dehli. In the course of his studies he came across some difficulties which, in spite of his efforts, he could not solve. The scholars of Dehli failed to help him in the matter. At last he thought of undertaking a journey to Bukhārā and place his difficulties before the scholars of that renowned centre of Muslim learning. He left Dehli with a heavy load of books. While passing through Ajodhan he heard about the erudition and scholarship of Bābā Farid. He decided to see the saint. Much to his surprise and astonishment the saint solved all his difficulties in a few unassuming words. Shaikh Badr-u'd-din fell at the feet of the saint and became his disciple.<sup>1</sup> (3) Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya had completed his education at the feet of the most talented and gifted teachers of Dehli. His own attainments were remarkable. But, when he heard the Shaikh discussing abstruse problems in an extremely simple clear and lucid manner, he was taken by surprise. "It enchanted one's very soul," he used to say about the Shaikh's power of expression and exposition, "You felt like giving up the ghost at that very place."<sup>2</sup>

Bābā Farid's main subject of study was the *Qur'ān*. He had devoted much of his time and energy to it and in fact his knowledge and understanding of the Holy Book was remarkable. He taught six parts of the *Qur'ān* to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya who could never, during his life, forget the Shaikh's charming and inimitable manner of reciting it.<sup>3</sup>

Besides, Bābā Farid had a wide and extensive knowledge of the mystic literature. He laid special emphasis on the '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*' of Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-din Suhrawardī and considered it to be an indispensable study for a mystic selected by his master for the grant of *Kulāfat*.

The author of *Gulzār-i-Abrār* says that Shaikh Farid had prepared an excellent commentary on the '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*'. His reference to this commentary gives the impression that he had seen it, but none of our medieval records refer to it.<sup>4</sup> The fact however remains that

<sup>1</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 89-90.

*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 70-71.

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 170.

<sup>3</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 75. He used to say that whoever desired to commit the *Qur'ān* to memory should begin with the *Surah-i-Yusuf*. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 438.

<sup>4</sup> It was first published in Cairo on the margin of *Ihyā* of Imām Ghazzālī. It was translated into Persian under the title *Misbāk u'l-Hidayah wa-Misfah u'l-Kifāyah* by 'Izz-u'd-din Mahmūd bin 'Alī Kāshānī (ob. 735 A.H./1334 A.D.). Published by Nawāl Kishore, Lucknow in 1904. Another well annotated edition from Iran by Aghā Jalāl-u'd-din Humā'i. H. Wilberforce Clarke translated it into English from the Persian version and published it in an appendix to his translation of *Hāfiz* (London, 1891).

Bābā Farid gave his copy of the '*Awārif*' to Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-din Hānsawī who later on entrusted it to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya granted it to Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Munawwar. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 249-250.

<sup>5</sup> The best known commentary on the '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*' from the pen of an Indian scholar is the *Dhawārif-u'l-Lafā'if fi Sharh 'Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif* by Shaikh Allā b. Ahmad al-Mahāmī (ob. 835 A.H./1431 A.D.). MSS in the Rampūr and the Bankpūr libraries.

Bābā Farid was keenly interested in the book and probably the credit of introducing it in India and making it a part of the mystic syllabus goes to him

Had Bābā Farid seen Shaukh Shihāb-u'd-dīn? Our earlier authorities do not say a word about it, but later works,<sup>1</sup> probably inspired by the fabricated *Malfūz*,<sup>2</sup> say that Bābā Farid had met the great Suhrawardī saint and was deeply impressed by him. The author of *Jawāhir-i-Faridī* says that Shaukh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī had presented him a copy of his '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'arif*' with the remark

این را مطالعه کنید که مخصوص برای شما ساخته ام

(Study it because I have compiled it specially for you)

While nothing definite can be said on this point, one cannot fail to find an element of personal attachment in the attitude of Bābā Farid towards the author of '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'arif*'<sup>3</sup>

Bābā Farid was also interested in the works of Qāḍī Hamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, a close friend and companion of his master, Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kāki. The Qāḍī's works formed a very difficult reading and a great scholar of the middle ages is reported to have told his pupils "Whatever you have read is in these books (of Qāḍī Hamīd), whatever you have not read is also in these books, whatever I have read is here and whatever I have not read is also here." However Bābā Farid had full grasp of these works and could very effectively explain them before his disciples. He taught *Lawā'ih* to Shams-i-Dabir.<sup>4</sup>

Bābā Farid was keenly interested in books and it seems that he possessed a library<sup>5</sup> of standard works on religion and mysticism. In the fabricated *Malfūz* literature he is made to refer to a very large number of books.<sup>7</sup> A few anecdotes about the Shaukh mentioned in the *Siyar u'l-Auliya* and other works show that he had a very thorough knowledge of the Arabic grammar

<sup>1</sup> *Sab Sandal* p 55, *Jawāhir-i-Faridī*, MS

<sup>2</sup> The *Rāhat ul-Qulūb* attributes this statement to Shaukh Farid

"شیم شهاب الدین سهروردی حدیثی الف سرة العزیز را این دعا گوید

است و چند روز بعد مت ایشان بم بود"

<sup>3</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p 75

<sup>4</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 241

<sup>5</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p 128

<sup>6</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p 187

<sup>7</sup> e.g. *Kitāb-i-ʿImān*, *Asrār-u'l-Arifin*, *Tafṣīr-i-Imam Zāhid Dāwūd-i-Insānī*, by Khwāja Shāfiq Balkhī, *Maghāriq-u'l-Anwār*, *ʿAqd-i-Kitāb*, *Athar-u'l-Tabaʿin*, *Sharh-i-Ulāmā Rahat-u'l-Arwāh*, by Qāḍī Hamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, *Sharh-i-Maghārikh Faṭāwa-i-Kubrā*, *Qūt-u'l-Julūd*, *Awārif-u'l-Ma'arif*, *Faṭāwa-i-Zāhiriya*, *Kitāb-i-Tanbih*, *Sharh-i-Aulwā* by Khwāja Mawdūd Chishtī, *Kitāb-i-Rauda*, *Athar-i-Auliya*, *Jāma-u'l-Hikāya*, *Tafṣīr-i-Kaḥhāf*, *Kitāb-i-Kisāyah*, *Aurād-i-Shaykh*, *ʿUlāmā Harvanī*, and *Sharh-i-Shaykh-u'l-Islām Muʾin-u'd-dīn*

## CHAPTER XVI

### The Poet

A heart overflowing with feelings of love and devotion could hardly resist its expression in verse Bābā Farid composed verses in Arabic, Persian and in some local dialects Amir Khurd has quoted, at different places in his book, the following verses of the Shāikh

بقدر رنج بانی سروری را  
بش بیدار بودن بهتری را

(You will get honour in proportion to the pains that you undertake in your work Keeping awake at night brings greatness)

لو کان هدالعلم یدری بالملکی ما کان یقفی فی التریة جاهل  
فاحبه ولا تکسل ولا تک عافلا فقد امة العقی لمن یتکامل

(If it would have been possible to acquire knowledge through aspiring alone, there would have been no illiterate in this world You should strive hard and shed away lethargy for shame is reserved for the indolent on the Day of judgement)

رعدا قسمة الصبار فینا  
لنا علم وللجهال مال

(We are satisfied with the distribution made by God. There is *knowledge* for us and *wealth* for the ignorant)

رودل نکسی ده که بهیرو نانو  
از درد موق او فکری ناری<sup>1</sup>

قبایش را شدم بعدی که چون نکشاد نشیند  
ولی حصم کمر بندم که چون بر پشت برخیزد

(رأی)

از دور حلال مرد مطلق حیو و ارشوق حدانگر چه رونق خیزد  
این خاطر مردان چه معالای بهتری است چون موج زند هم ادا الحق خیزد

لو گدائی دور باش از بادشاه تا بیايد بر در تو دور باش  
گر وصال شاه میداری طمع از وصال حویشتن مهجور باش

<sup>1</sup> With reference to this and the three couplets that follow, Amir Khurd says "*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, "بر زبان شیخ شیخ العالم فرید الحق و الدین گذشتن است" pp 464, 473, 476, 363) It may mean either that somebody's verse was quoted by the Shāikh or that it was composed by the saint himself I am inclined to interpret it in the latter sense for two reasons (i) Where Amir Khurd makes Bābā Farid quote somebody else's verse, he writes simply *خواید* eg on p 503 where Bābā Farid recites a verse of Nizāmi (ii) These verses have been quoted by Amir Khurd in contexts quite unrelated to the Shāikh Had these verses been composed by somebody else, he could have very well mentioned the name, or if he did not know that, he could say, as he has very often done in his book, *بزرگی گفتن*. These four verses have been woven by him in the narrative because they very neatly express the point in discussion and the context shows that he considers them to be Bābā Farid's compositions.

(رباعی)

در شبانه شبنم دل حزینم بگرفت و اندیشه یار ناریدم بگرفت  
گفتم سر و دیده روم بودرتو اشکم ندوید و آستینم بگرفت

المناجاة بین الانثی  
حیر من لکرار السلی

ای مدعی ندوی چندین مکن دلیری  
یک حرف را ز معنی مه صد جواب باشد

خورش ده نیکبخت و نیک و همای  
که ناگه همایی در افتد بدام

ان اردل الناس  
من اشعل نالاکل والناس

The following verse in some local dialect was also composed by the saint :

گفت بهوتین کاری نا کان هت منای  
بس کندلی مدھی گر هو ریں لہد لہا<sup>1</sup>

The following verses were often recited by the Shaikh, but it cannot be said definitely whether they are his own compositions

عشق تو مرا اسیر و حیوان کرده است در کوئی حرالت پریشان کرده است  
باین همه زنج و معتلت ای دوست بین اسرار تو در دلم کر پنهان کرده است

گفتم کہ شب نماز سیار کنی در ورودائی شخص بیمار کنی  
تا دل نکلی ز صدم و کین حالی صد حرص گد بر صریح حار کنی

گرمی ندهد هجرتو وصلت یارم  
ناحاح سر کوئی تو گاری دارم

چو درویش را کار نالا کشید  
نیک لفظ سر در تریا کشید  
چندان عرق کرده در بانی عشق  
کہ یک دم سرار عشق نالا کشید

Dr Maulvi 'Abd-ul Haqq has quoted in his book, "The Sufi's work in the early Development of Urdu Language," the following Urdu verses as specimens of Rābā Farid's poetic compositions

اساکیری بی سوریت  
حاؤن نالکہ کہ حاؤن مسیت

تن دھوے سے دل جو ہونا پوک پیش رو اسعیا کے ہوئے عوی  
ریح مسلت سے گر بڑے ہوئے بوکڑواں سے نہ کوئی بڑے ہوئے  
ہاک لڑنے سے گر خدا پاکیں کاہ بیلان بی واسطی ہو جا لیں

<sup>1</sup> Sayar-u'l-Awliyā, p. 367

<sup>2</sup> Published by the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu, Delhi, 1939, pp. 7-9.

گوش گری میں گر خدا ملتا  
گوش چوپان (؟) کوگی نہ واصل نہا

عشق کا رمور ببارا ہے  
جز مدد پیرے نہ چارا ہے

وقت صحر وقت مباحات ہے      خیز دران وقت کہ برکات ہے  
بسی صادا کہ بگوہ ترا      حسب چہر حیزی کہ ابھی رات ہے  
بائن تھا چہ روی زیر زمین      بیک عمل کی کہ رہی سات ہے  
پند شکر گنج کہ دل جان شدو      صایع مکن صبر کہ ہیبتا ہے

جانی یاد کی کرنا ہر گھڑی یک تل حضور سون ٹلدا نہیں  
اٹھہ بیٹھہ میں یاد سون شاد رہا گراہ دار کو چھوڑے چلدا نہیں  
پاک رکھہ ٹون دل کو میر سنی آج سالکین فرہہ کا آونہا ہے  
قدیم قدیمی کہ آونے میں لاروال دولت کون پاوٹا ہے

The learned writer has not given a critical account of the sources from which he has collected these verses. Their authenticity is doubtful in view of the fact that the *nome de-plumes* used here were never used by the saint.<sup>1</sup>

Shakh 'Abd-u'l Wāhid Ibrāhīm has quoted the following verses of Shakh Farid in his book *Sab' Sanābil*, written in 969 A H /1561 A D.<sup>2</sup>

ٹوپی لبیدی ناوری دیدی کہری نہ  
چوہا کڈہ اما بوی پچھی بلدہنی چوہ

صان من صدایان سر مٹی کیا ہوئی  
کبتیں بھڈان میان سرگ نہ لدھی کوی

<sup>1</sup> Ali Asghar Chughti also attributes to the great saint the following verse in which the *nome-de-plume* Farid occurs, but it is difficult to accept it as genuine

فرید ادھر مولیٰ سر بیچھے تلہان توکت کاک  
رب اجنون نہ ناہڑے سودھن اسڈے نہاک

(Jawāhar-i-Farid MS)

<sup>2</sup> *Sab' Sanābil*, p 58. Shakh 'Abd-u'l Wāhid has thus rendered these verses into Persian.

نادان ترست مرد گلم گیر بیخورد  
مرد گلہ دہ بوقیے سخت بھیا  
موشی کہ خود برآمد بگندہ رلبایش  
بندہ بطویش نارگران در مصیق حا

ای سرتویش دل تراش ارہوالی بسی      کز سر تراشیت خود راہ دہن حصول  
چندین ہزار بیش تراشیدہ ہر طرف      رہنہا یکی ہر گم مولیٰ نقد قبول

<sup>3</sup> Also as

موندان مند مددایان سر موندیں کیا ہوئی

*Sab' Sanābil*, p. 58.

## CHAPTER XVII

### Teachings of Shaikh Farid

Bābā Farid's long life was devoted to the moral and spiritual culture of man. It is really unfortunate that no detailed account of his conversations was prepared. Amīr Khurd refers to a disciple who had collected his 500 sayings, but that work has not survived. What we have today from that book is a selection by Amīr Khurd. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā says that he took down some notes from his conversations, but this work was probably meant for his personal use and was never published. Even Amīr Khurd who had access to the Shaikh's papers after his death did not find it in them. The two books *Asrār-u'l-Auliā*, and *Rahāt-u'l-Qulūb* are definitely fabrications of a later date and it would be utterly unjust to prepare an account of the Shaikh's teachings on their basis. One has therefore to fall back on the rather meagre information contained in the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* and the *Siyar-u'l-Auliā*.

Shaikh Farid was endowed with remarkable persuasive powers. A few anecdotes about him mentioned in the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* throw considerable light on his accurate understanding of human nature and effective manner of advice<sup>1</sup>.

A free translation of some of his sayings quoted by Amīr Khurd<sup>2</sup> is given below —

1. Escaping from one's self is (a means of) attaining to God.
2. Do not satisfy the demands of the physical self, for the more you satisfy it the more it demands.
3. Do not regard the ignorant as alive.
4. Give a wide berth to an ignorant man who poses as a learned one.
5. Do not utter a truth which resembles a lie.
6. Do not try to sell what people do not wish to buy.
7. Do not hanker after worldly self and glory.
8. Do not eat everybody's bread, but give bread to people (freely).
9. Do not forget death at any place.
10. Do not say anything as mere guess-work.

---

<sup>1</sup> See *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 211-2, 215, 90, 147, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliā*, pp. 76-77.

11. Whenever an evil befalls you consider it a punishment of your sins.

12. Do not boast of having committed a sin.

13. Do not make your heart a plaything of the devil.

14. Keep your internal self better than the external self.

15. Do not strive to display yourself.

16. Do not lower yourself in an attempt to secure a high position.

17. Do not borrow anything from either the weak or the upstarts.

18. Treat old families with respect

19. Aspire for new (spiritual) attainments every day.

20. As far as possible prevent women from developing the habit of using abusive language

21. Consider good health a blessing

22. Show gratitude but do not place the obligation of gratefulness on others

23. While doing good to others think that you are doing good to yourself

24. Give up immediately the pursuit of a thing which your heart considers bad

25. Do not retain a slave who wants to be sold

26. Be always on the look out for a pretext for doing good.

27. Do not fight or quarrel in a manner which leaves no room for reconciliation

28. Consider levity and anger as signs of weakness

29. Do not consider yourself safe from an enemy howsoever conciliatory he might be towards you

30. Whoever fears you fear him.

31. Do not place reliance on your strength.

32. Of all times self-restraint is most necessary at the time of sexual desire

33. Do not forget religion when in company of the rich

34. Greatness and honour consist in doing justice

35. Be generous when you have wealth

36. There can be no substitute for religion.

37. There can be no equivalent to time.

38. Show generosity to the righteous man.

39. Consider haughtiness necessary in dealing with the proud ones.

40. Do not entertain guests with extravagance.
41. When God visits you with some calamity, do not turn away from it.
42. Consider a *durwesh* who lives in the hope of riches as avaricious.
43. Entrust the country to a God-fearing Wazir.
44. Defeat your enemy by consulting him and captivate your friend by your politeness
45. Consider worldliness as an unforeseen calamity.
46. Be critical of your own shortcomings
47. Acquire wealth by merit so that it may last for ever
48. Acquire knowledge through humility
49. Do not lose your temper at the bitter words of the enemy and do not lose your shield by being overpowered with anger
50. If you do not want to be held in disgrace do not beg for anything
51. If you want to make the entire world your enemy develop pride.
52. Conceal your good and bad things
53. Protect religion by knowledge
54. If you want greatness associate with the downtrodden.
55. If you want ease and comfort, do not be jealous.
56. Accept affliction as a present
57. Work in a way that you may get (eternal) life after death

These sayings of the Shaikh are not dry aphorisms. They epitomise the essence of morality and wisdom and are deeply steeped in the mystic ideology. The Shaikh always tried to impress, by precept and example, upon the minds of his followers that the supreme aim of a mystic's life should be to create love and affection in the hearts of the people. One day a man presented a pair of scissors to him. "Give me a needle," he told the man, "I sew (and join), I do not cut (and divide)."<sup>1</sup>

Shaikh Farid wanted his disciples to develop complete faith in God because this faith alone could bring about a concentration and intensification of human powers. One day, while leaning on his staff, his mood changed and he threw his staff away. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din was present at that time. He was surprised at the sudden change in the Shaikh's mood. When he inquired about the reason, the Shaikh replied "I was reprimanded because I put faith in others than Him."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Faṣṣ'ad-u'l-Fuṣṣād*, p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Awliyā*, p. 81



Bābā Farid one day informed his audience that four questions were put to 700 saints and all of them gave the same reply.<sup>1</sup> These questions were

1. *Who is the wisest?* "One who rejects the world," they replied.

2. *Who is the most saintly?* "One who does not get changed at everything"

3. *Who is the richest and the wealthiest of all men?* "One who is content."

4. *Who is the most needy?* "One who gives up contentment"

Shaikh Farid advised his disciples to develop independence of spirit and place their requests before God alone "God," he told his disciples, "feels ashamed when he rejects the requests of a man who raises his hands in supplication"<sup>2</sup>

A life of poverty (*Faqr*) and resignation (*Tawakkul*) was the frequent burthen of Bābā Farid's discourses. He wanted his disciples to accept the life of penury and penitence with pleasure and devote themselves to Him and Him alone. He was keenly conscious of the fact that the highest spiritual aspirations of man are apt to become stifled by the weight of his material possessions and that riches often arrest the growth and expansion of the spirit. "The day of failure," he used to say, "is the night of the highest spiritual ascension"<sup>3</sup>

Time is the most precious thing in the possession of a *durwesh* and he should take full care of it. Time and again Bābā Farid would revert to this theme and explain to his disciples the value of time. Imām Shāfi'i, he said, served the *pūris* for ten years and then he came to know the value of time.<sup>4</sup>

Shaikh Farid did not want his disciples to waste their time in idle or loose talk. "One should work," he told his disciples, "and should not loose himself in the talks of the people." He approvingly quoted the remarks of Shaikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn Tabrizī: "Many utterances lull the heart and make it indifferent (to the Divine messages). Only that thing should be uttered which is for the Lord alone"<sup>5</sup>

A *faqir* who wears new clothes, the Shaikh said, wraps himself in a shroud.<sup>6</sup> He tried to bring home to the heart of his disciples the fact that a life of ease and comfort is really incompatible with the requirements of the life of a *durwesh*

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 74

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 74

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 74

<sup>4</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 74

<sup>5</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 75

<sup>6</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 75

The following precepts and sayings of the Shaikh deserve to be noted as they clearly indicate his views about some matters of vital importance :

1. *Zakāt* is of three kinds *Zakāt-i-Sharī'at*, *Zakāt-i-Tariqat* and *Zakāt-i-Haqiqat* *Zakāt-i-Sharī'at* is that one gives 5 *dirhams* out of 20 ; *Zakāt-i-Tariqat* means that one keeps 5 *dirhams* and gives 15 , *Zakāt-i-Haqiqat* means that all is given away and nothing is retained.<sup>1</sup>

2. The Prophet used to say that blessed is the man whose knowledge of his own faults and defects prevents him from disclosing the faults of others<sup>2</sup>

3 Mutual discussions are better than repetitions in loneliness<sup>3</sup>

4 There is calamity in deliberation and safety in resignation to the will of God<sup>4</sup>

5. The '*ulāmā* are nobler than the common people and the *faqirs* are the noblest of all<sup>5</sup>

6. The *faqirs* occupy the same place in the midst of '*ulāmā* which the full moon occupies in the midst of the constellation of stars<sup>6</sup>

7 The meanest of all people is one who busies himself exclusively in feeding and clothing himself<sup>7</sup>

8. Mystic music (*Samā'*) moves the hearts of the listeners and breathes the fire of love in their hearts<sup>8</sup>

Bābā Farīd wanted his disciples to be absolutely free from pride and arrogance. He advised them to develop a spirit of humility in their relations with their spiritual guide and master. One day he narrated before his disciples the following story of Shaikh Abū Sa'id Abul Khair<sup>9</sup>

'Once Shaikh Abū Sa'id Abul Khair was riding on a horse. A *murīd*, who was walking on foot, saw him, and rushed to kiss his knee. The Shaikh said 'Lower still'. The disciple kissed the Shaikh's feet. 'Lower still', said the Shaikh. Thereupon the disciple kissed the hoof of the horse. 'Lower still', repeated the Shaikh. The disciple then kissed the ground. The Shaikh then remarked "In asking you to kiss 'still lower' my object was not to make you pay respects to myself. The lower you kissed the higher became your (spiritual rank)<sup>10</sup>"

<sup>1</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 103

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 75

<sup>3</sup> to <sup>5</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* pp. 75-76, 546

<sup>6</sup> Shaikh Abū Sa'id Fadi-ullah bin Abul Khair (c. 67-1049 A.D.) is an eminent figure in the history of Islamic mysticism. It was he who first impressed on the Persian *rubā'i* the mystical stamp. His biographical details may be read in the *Azār-u'l-Tauhid-i-Maqāmāt-i-Shaikh Abi Sa'id* (compiled between 1157-1203 A.D.) edited by Ahmad Khatunanyar (Tehran 1934 A.D.). The Chishti mystics of India had great respect for him. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya and Shaikh Naṣir-u'd-din Chiragh-i-Dihli have frequently referred to him in their conversations. *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 7, 13 etc., *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 340, etc., *Kharr-u'l-Majālis*, pp. 38, 80, 84, 110 etc.

<sup>10</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 215

*Sab' Sawābil* (p. 68) wrongly attributes this story to Shaikh Naṣir-u'd-din Chiragh-i-Dihli and Sayyid Muhammad Gaus Dakh.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### Baba Farid's Spiritual Discipline

The credit of stabilizing the *Chishti* order in India goes to Bābā Farid. As *Shaiḫ* Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā had once remarked, he belonged to that group of mystics who had made mysticism a mass movement and had admitted all sorts of people to the mystic discipline in order to create religious consciousness in them.<sup>1</sup> Bābā Farid's long, sincere and strenuous application to the cause of the *Silsilah* immensely raised its prestige. People flocked round him from far and near and learnt at his feet the moral and spiritual doctrines of the *Chishti* order.

Broadly speaking, Bābā Farid's disciples comprised men of two types—those who had made up their minds to consecrate their lives completely to religion, and those who joined his discipleship for their spiritual betterment, yet carried on their worldly pursuits. From the second type of his disciples the *Shaiḫ* rarely expected anything more than honest dealings with their fellow men and regular performance of their obligatory religious duties. From his higher disciples he demanded complete severance of all earthly ties and selfless devotion to the cause of religion. He was satisfied if a *murid* belonging to the second category regularly paid *Zakāt-i-Shari'at* (one fourth of what he possessed), but a higher disciple had to pay *Zakāt-i-Haqiqat* (all that he possessed).<sup>2</sup> This higher class of disciples consisted of those persons whom the *Shaiḫ* desired to appoint as his *Khalifah*. He advised them as follows —

- (i) Spiritual progress lies in the discipline of soul and the purification of inner life, not in the mechanical performance of prayers. If *ma'rifat* is desired, anger, jealousy and hatred should be completely wiped out from the heart.<sup>3</sup>
- (ii) Gnosis is beyond the reach of one who consorts with kings.<sup>4</sup> Minionism weakens the moral fibre and kills the freedom of the soul.
- (iii) Trusteeship causes distraction in the singleminded pursuit of spiritual ideals. This responsibility should never be accepted.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 347

<sup>2</sup> *Fawa'id-u'l-Fa'idah*, p. 103

<sup>3</sup> See *Supra* p. 85

<sup>4</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 363

<sup>5</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 325

*Shaiḫ* Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā informs us that *Shaiḫ* Farid used to say:

کسی کم امامت قبول کند آو ار مریدان من نباشد

- (iv) There should be no quarrel with anybody in this world. Even enemies should be pleased and placated <sup>1</sup>
- (v) Obligations should be fulfilled, and duties should be performed <sup>2</sup>
- (vi) Religious knowledge and learning is a pre requisite to spiritual discipline <sup>3</sup>

Shāikh Farīd took considerable pains in building up healthy and integrated personalities of his disciples. He persistently asked them to develop self-reliance and evolve the inner richness of their being. He cultivated their emotions and tutored their intellects. It was his firm conviction that intellect, uninspired by Love and uncontrolled by faith in moral and spiritual values, acts as a force of disintegration in human life. He familiarised his disciples with the higher religious thought by teaching standard mystic works to them and disciplined their inner lives by a careful cultivation and control of their emotions. He did not spin fine ideas but expressed in his life the accumulated wisdom of the mystic creed and thus prepared his disciples both emotionally and intellectually for the arduous task of guiding the destinies of the *silsilah*. Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya's life is a glaring illustration of the way in which his example inspired his disciples and moulded their thought and character. At every new problem that cropped up in his *Jam'at* at *Khanah* and at every critical phase in his life, Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya's mind went back to his master and he tried to emulate him as best as he could <sup>4</sup>. It was at the feet of Shāikh Farīd that he learnt his lessons in pacificism, cosmopolitanism and renunciation of the materialistic pursuits.

Shāikh Farīd considered *Amālat* to be a very serious and sacred duty which could be assigned to a disciple possessing rare qualities of head and heart. While appointing Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya as his successor, he remarked <sup>5</sup>

”باری تعالیٰ تو، علم و عقل و عشق دادہ است و هر که بدین صفت موصوفی باشد او را خلافت متابع دیکو آید“

(God Almighty has given thee knowledge, wisdom and cosmic emotion and he alone who possesses these three qualities is qualified to discharge the duties of the *Khilāfat* of saints)

<sup>1</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 140, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 330

<sup>2</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 140

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 107

<sup>4</sup> (a) A *Jawāiq* comes to see Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya who can, following the practice of Shāikh Bahā'u'd-dīn Zakariyya, refuse to see him, but this is not the tradition of his master. He welcomes the *Jawāiq* and tells his audience: "Shāikh-u'l-Islām Farīd-u'd-dīn welcomed every one." *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 5

(b) A woman joins the discipleship of Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya whose mind goes back to his master who was a great believer in the capabilities of women. "Shāikh-u'l-Islām Farīd-u'd-dīn has often said about a woman who lived in Inderpat. She is a man who has been sent in the form of woman." *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 22

(c) A *Jawāiq* comes to Shāikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya and begins to abuse him. The Shāikh hears him patiently because his master had behaved like-wise under similar circumstances. *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 48

To multiply examples one needs only turn over the pages of the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*

<sup>5</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 345.

Indiscriminate grant of *Khilāfat*, which became a feature of later-day mysticism, was strongly disapproved by Shaikh Farīd. He used to say. "The saints bestow their *Khilāfat* in three ways. First is the *Rahmānī* way which is the best and the stablest. There are plenty of blessings and benedictions in it. It is this God directly puts it into the heart of a *Shaikh* to give his *Khilāfat* to a particular person. The second way is that a Shaikh considers a disciple capable and (keeping his qualifications in mind) decides to grant his *Khilāfat* to him. In it there is a possibility of a Shaikh's opinion being right or wrong. The third way is that a *Shaikh* grants *Khilāfat* to a particular person, not of his own accord, but due to somebody's recommendation or as a matter of grace."<sup>1</sup>

All those mystics whom Shaikh Farīd gave his *Khilāfat Nāmahs* were required to get the document endorsed by his senior disciples, particularly Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn Hānswī<sup>2</sup>. Whether the Shaikh's aim in adopting this procedure was to have the benefit of a second opinion or to impress upon the mind of the newly appointed *Khālīfah* the superiority of Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn or to keep the senior disciples informed about the additions to the inner circle, cannot be definitely stated. It was, however, rigorously enforced and the saint once refused to grant his *Khilāfat* to a disciple whose *Khilāfat Nāmah* had been torn by Shaikh Jamāl.<sup>3</sup>

Shaikh Farīd took all possible measures to see that his *Khilāfat Nāmahs* were not forged or fabricated. One day he asked Maulānā Badr u'd-dīn Ishāq to prepare a few copies of his *Khilāfat Nāmah* for some persons whom he desired to appoint his *Khālīfahs*. A disciple who had served the Shaikh long and devotedly but was not considered for *Khilāfat* remarked in disgust. "If the Shaikh himself does not give me *Khilāfat*, I can prepare a document like this and busy myself in the work (of enrolling disciples)." The Shaikh was alarmed and he instructed Maulānā

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 345

<sup>2</sup> Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya comes under the first category (*Khaw-u'l-Majāhids*, p. 224) and Maulānā Fakhr-u'd-dīn Ṣafāhānī under the third (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 345-346).

<sup>3</sup> When Shaikh Farīd gave his *Khilāfat Nāmah* to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya he instructed him to show the document to Maulānā Jamāl-u'd-dīn in Hānsī and Qādī Muntaṣab in Dehli. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn was surprised at the omission of the name of Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil, a senior disciple and brother of the saint, but when he reached Dehli he found, to his great surprise and grief that Shaikh Najīb had already died. When Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn showed the document to Shaikh Jamāl, he was immensely delighted and recited the following couplet:

خدا کی جهان را هزاران سپاس  
 کہ گوهر سپردہ بگوهر شناس

(Thousands of thanks to the Lord of the Universe that the jewel has been assigned to one who knows its value)

*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 116-117

<sup>4</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 178-179

Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq to put his name also as the scribe of the document in order to prevent forgery by unscrupulous persons<sup>1</sup>

Maulānā Fakhr-u'd-dīn Ṣafāhānī's case is very significant in this connection. He was a prominent figure of Bilgrām. He sent a saint, Dā'ūd, to Shaiḥ Farīd to request him on his behalf to grant him a *Khilāfat Nāmāh*. "People pester me for the mystic cap," he said in his message. Shaiḥ Farīd refused to accede to his request. Dā'ūd stayed on in the *Jamā'at Khānah* and approached some dear disciples of the Shaiḥ for recommending his case. Shaiḥ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā and the saint's son, Maulānā Shihāb-u'd-dīn pleaded for the grant of *Khilāfat Nāmāh* to Maulānā Fakhr-u'd-dīn but the Shaiḥ firmly declined with the remark

"این کار حق است بآرزو نیست، هرکس قابل باشد بخواستم بپايد"

(This is Divine Work and cannot be assigned to (everyone) who desires it. The qualified one gets it without asking for it.)

Shaiḥ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā did not persist in his request at that time but later on, finding the Shaiḥ in a generous mood he repeated his request. The Shaiḥ accepted his recommendation and granted *Khilāfat* to Maulānā Ṣafāhānī. Shaiḥ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā tells us that the Maulānā could not achieve any success in his work because the Shaiḥ had conferred *Khilāfat* on him under pressure and very reluctantly.<sup>2</sup>

Bābā Farīd was opposed to the practice of becoming the *murīd* of a dead saint by wearing a cap at his grave. One of his sons once went to the grave of Shaiḥ Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kāfī, shaved his head and declared that he had become a disciple of the great saint. When Bābā Farīd heard about this he declared emphatically

"شیخ قطب الدین دراجه و مخدوم ما است - اما این نوع درست نباشد - ارادت و بیعت آنست که دست شیخی گیرند"

(Shaiḥ Qutb-u'd-dīn is my spiritual guide and master, but this form of initiation is not proper. Initiation and discipleship means that one should grasp the hand of a Shaiḥ.)

The success of Bābā Farīd's spiritual discipline lay in the extraordinary qualities of his head and heart. His keen intuitive intelligence

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 227

Consequently, the *Khilāfat Nāmāh*s of Shaiḥ Farīd contained the following words:

"تحررت هذه الأسطر بعون الله على يد اصعب الفقير الى الله العلي  
استحق بن علي بن استحق الهاموي بمشافهته"

*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 118

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 345-346

<sup>3</sup> *Fawa'id-u'l-Kunūdiyya*, p. 78. Asrār Khurd quotes the last sentence, thus

"بیعت آنست که دست شیخی که ظاهر حق بقصد گیرند"

*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 326

(*nafs-i girā*) helped him in reaching the inner most recesses of a disciple's heart. A casual glance at a *murid*'s face revealed his weakness and strength to him. With this sharp and penetrating insight into human nature, Bābā Farid proved to be a teacher *par excellence*<sup>1</sup>. He helped his disciples in developing their morally autonomous personalities. To assist a person in attaining to his full spiritual and moral stature is a very difficult task. Sympathy, love, understanding, tact and occasional severity alone can ensure this. Bābā Farid had all these qualities and many more. The following anecdotes will give some idea of his deep understanding of human nature.

(i) Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā reached Ajodhan after having won his laurels in the highest academic circles of Dehli. He was an excellent debator and was known as *Nizām-u'd-dīn Mahfil Shikan*. One day the Shaikh was teaching the '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*' to his disciples. His manuscript had some copyist's mistakes and so he had to proceed slowly and in a halting manner, correcting the mistakes and removing the inaccuracies. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn, interrupting the Shaikh, said that Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil had a good manuscript of the book. Shaikh Farid was irritated and annoyed. "Has this *durwesh* no capacity of correcting a defective manuscript?" he exclaimed repeatedly. When Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn realised that his master had disapproved of his remarks, he fell at his feet and humbly begged him to forgive his insolence. But Shaikh Farid's anger did not subside. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn was overtaken by deep grief. In a mood of extreme mental depression he even thought of committing suicide. He went into the wilderness, weeping and crying. Shaikh Farid's son, Nizām-u'd-dīn, who was a close friend of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā, was deeply touched by this condition of his friend and he interceded on his behalf and secured the Shaikh's pardon. Shaikh Farid called his disciple nearer and said: "All this I have done for your perfection... A *pīr* is a dresser of brides (مشاط)!"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Shaikh Farid watched the lives of his disciples carefully and whenever there was an opportunity of teaching them a lesson, he was not the man to miss it. (i) One day an intelligent and well-read student, Sharf-u'd-dīn, came to see him. "What about your studies?" enquired Shaikh Farid. "Now I have forgotten everything," replied Sharf-u'd-dīn. The Shaikh found in this reply detestable signs of intellectual arrogance and when the visitor had left, he turned to his disciples and said "This man displayed pride." *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 80.

(ii) Once some six or seven young and handsome saints connected with the Chishti Salsalā, brought their disputes for arbitration to Shaikh Farid. The Shaikh called Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā and Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq to his presence while they presented their case before him. The saints explained their differences with extreme courtesy and politeness. "That day you spoke like this. I submitted like this. Then you said this. I did not understand you and I wrongly replied like this." The other man replied in the same humble manner. This courtesy and politeness brought tears into the eyes of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā and Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq and they realized the Shaikh's aim in asking them to be present at that time. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā used to say "They were angles of Truth sent to teach us as to how we should settle our disputes." *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, pp. 26-27.

Apparently Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā's remark seems quite innocent, but the Shaiikh's intuitive intelligence found in it a trace of that intellectual snobbishness which distinctions and laurels in the academic circles of Dehli may have produced in him. To eliminate this he resorted to the severest rebuke possible.

(2) After completing his education at Dehli Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā turned to the culture of his soul and came to Ajodhan. One day he met an old companion and class-fellow Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn's clothes were grungy and tattered. His friend was much surprised at this condition of a brilliant student who was expected to have a fine career. "Maulānā Nizām-u'd-dīn!" he exclaimed, "What misfortune has befallen you? Had you taken to the teaching profession at Dehli, you would have become the leading scholar of the time and would have prospered." Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn did not give any reply. He came to his master and told him all that had happened. "What would be your answer to such a question?" asked Shaiikh Farīd. "As the Shaiikh directs," replied Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn. "Tell him," Shaiikh Farīd replied.

نه همدمی تو مرا راه خویش گیر، برو  
ترا سعادت دادا، مرا نگوں ساری

(You are not my fellow-traveller. Follow your path. Get along.  
May prosperity be your share in life and misfortune mine.)

The Shaiikh then asked his disciple to order a tray of every variety of food from his kitchen and carry them on his head to his friend.<sup>1</sup>

The incident is simple but has its significance. It rooted out once for ever any desire for the easy and comfortable life of *shughl* (government service) that might have lingered on in the mind of Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā, and made clear to him the fact that the requirements of the life he had chosen for himself were entirely different from the life his friend was leading or wanted him to lead.

(3) Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq was a man of very intense mystic emotions. At times he was completely lost in his trances and tears flowed constantly from his eyes. One day Shaiikh Farīd asked him to lead the prayer. Maulānā Ishāq, instead of reciting the *Qasām* chanted a Persian verse and fell down unconscious. When he recovered his senses, Bābā Farīd again ordered him to lead the prayer and to behave properly.<sup>2</sup> One day the Shaiikh called him, but he was so deeply lost in his mystic contemplation that he did not respond. The Shaiikh became angry and when the Maulānā came to him, he said: "All your previous prayers and devotion have been lost. Busy yourself in your work again."<sup>3</sup> Bābā

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 172. The following verse was recited by him:

پیش سیاست فمشی روح چه نطق نهیزد ای رهزار معرکه کم پیش تو روا چه میوزد

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 177.



Farid was a believer in the life of *Saḥw* (Sobriety) and he could not allow his disciples to develop interest in the life of uncontrolled ecstasy

### A KHILĀFAT NĀMAH

Fortunately for us, Amīr Khurī has copied the *Khilāfat Nāmah* which was given by Shaikh Farid to his disciple Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Anliyā. It throws sufficient light on the aims and objects of the mystics in granting *Khilāfat Nāmahs* to their successors

"In the name of God, Most Gracious and Most Merciful. He alone deserves all praises. He is the First and the Last, the Appearance and the Reality. Whomsoever He elevates none can bring down and whomsoever He throws down none can elevate. None can bring to light what He has concealed and none can conceal whatever He has revealed. And Blessings on the holy Prophet Muḥammad and on his descendants, Companions and others. I declare after praise of God and His Prophet that the study of the sciences of the *Hadīth* opens the heart of the people and gives light to him who studies it. In *ʿIlm-u-Uṣūl* the best book is the *Tamhīd-u'l-Muhtadī* of Abū Shakūr. This book has been studied under me, lesson by lesson, from the beginning to the end, minutely, attentively, carefully and thoroughly by the dutiful son, pious, the *imām* of the age, Nizām-u'l-Millat-w'ad-Dīn Muḥammad bin Ahmad, who is an adornment of the *imāms* and scholars and the pride of the holy and the virtuous. May God bless him with the desire of submission to Him and be merciful to him. While teaching him I found him capable, talented, well-behaved and goodmannered. I now permit him to teach this book to students, provided he avoids mistakes in teaching, writing and explaining and utilises his energy and knowledge in deliberation, correcting the manuscript and the purification of the language. This letter of permission was written by the order of the Shaikh of the Shaikhs of the world, may God ever protect his honour and prestige, and was written by the humble slave of God, Ishāq son of 'Alī son of Ishāq, a resident of Dehli, on Wednesday in the month of Ramaḍān, in the presence of the Shaikh of the Shaikhs of the world.

"I also permit Nizām-u'd-dīn to narrate things which he has learnt or heard from me and has collected and preserved. He should follow the right course and may blessings be on him. I also permit him to adopt isolation in some mosque, in which prayers are offered in congregation. The basis of this isolation is the tradition of the Prophet 'Live in the world like a traveller or a wayfarer and count yourself among the dead'. Consequently, the person who, in accordance with this tradition has made up his nund and summoned up his courage, is permitted to adopt seclusion, provided he controls the cravings of the flesh and thinks himself non-existent and weak, and renounces the world and its attractions. He must also have knowledge of the harm of worldly ambition.

and temptations. The time of such a recluse becomes adorned with various devotions when his *nafs* (lower soul) is prevented from coming back to the ordinary devotions from the higher devotions. If the struggle wears him out, he should calm his passions either by religious devotions or by sleeping for a while, for this pacification prevents the supremacy of the passions. One should abstain from idle seclusion because this makes one's heart neglectful. May God protect Nizām-u'l-Haqq-wad-dīn from such evils and guide him aright. *Nizām-u'd-dīn is really my successor and deputy in things worldly and religious, and obedience to him is obedience to me.* May God be kind to them who show respect and honour to Nizām-u'd-dīn, whom I honour and for whom I have great regard. If anyone does not respect him, may God disgrace him. All these words are from *faqīr Mas'ūd*<sup>1</sup> "

---

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u l-Auliya*, pp 117-119

## CHAPTER XIX

### Attitude Towards The State

Muslim mystics of the early middle ages, particularly those belonging to the *Chishtī Silsilah*, severed all direct contacts with the government of the time and developed an attitude of contemptuous indifference towards it.<sup>1</sup> This attitude embodied the reaction of the religious minded Mussalmāns to the worldliness of the rulers and their un-Islamic ways. They noticed with disgust and dismay the spectacle of Muslim rulers drifting away from the ideals of Islām and wallowing in the mud and mire of sordid materialism. To them Islām connoted something nobler and higher than these rulers conceived it to be. Islām did not come as a force for the founding of empires, but to ennoble man and to enable him to realise the best in him. Since the governing classes had relegated that ideal to the background, the mystics turned their backs on the state. They could bow their knees before Islam but not before thrones. The days when service of the State meant service of Islam were dead and gone. Now the state stood for class interests and the mystic was not prepared to serve those interests and direct the energies of a world force into the parochial channels of dynastic ambitions.

Besides, it was believed that *shughl* and *jāgīrdārī* were fetters that ate into the soul. They retarded the pace of spiritual progress and exercised a morbid influence on the healthy development of the cosmic emotion in man. True to the long established traditions of higher mysticism, Bābā Farīd developed an attitude of complete indifference towards the government of the day. His clear and unequivocal advice to his disciples was —

لوارده تم بلوغ درجه الكمال فاعلمكم بعدم الا لسان الملوك

(If you desire elevation in your spiritual ranks, do not mix with the princes of the blood).

Throughout his long life he stuck to this principle with remarkable determination and sincerity. Neither continued starvation nor the allurements of court-life could change his attitude towards the government of the day. From the death of Iltutmish to the rise of Balban there was a general laxity in the administration, and politicians and theologians vied with each other in dabbling in the affairs of the state. Eminent

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion of the problem, see the author's article "Early Indo-Muslim Mystics and Their Attitude Towards The State" *Islamic Culture*, Volumes XXII, XXIII, XXIV.

theologians and divines had chosen the life of politicians and were weltering in the dirty waters of politics. Bābā Farīd never deviated from the path he had chosen for himself. Men who came to seek his spiritual guidance were advised by him to give a wide berth to the rulers and the bureaucracy. When Sayyidī Maulā sought his permission to leave Ajodhan and to go to Dehli, he half-heartedly permitted him saying

”اما یک نصیحت من نگه داری - ماملوک و امراء احتیاط نه کنی -  
و آمد و شد ایشان را در خانه خود از مهلکات تصور کنی که هر درویشی  
که در احتیاط ماملوک و امراء نکشاید عاقبت او وحیم گردد ”<sup>1</sup>

(But keep in mind my one advice Do not associate with kings and nobles Regard their visits to your house as calamities Every *durvesh* who opens the door of association with kings and nobles is doomed )

Sayyidī Maulā disregarded the advice of the great saint and he had to pay a heavy penalty for it.<sup>2</sup>

Though living in a small and obscure town, Bābā Farīd's spiritual eminence attracted munsters and high government officers to his *Ḍarwāḡah*. Once Sultān Nāṣir-ū'd-dīn expressed his desire to visit the *Shaykh*, but Ulūgh Khān (later known as Ghuyāth-ū'd-dīn Balban) prevailed upon him to give up the idea as he did not want the Sultān to establish contact with the saint. The shrewd munster told him that there was scarcity of water in Ajodhan while the number of the soldiers in the army was too large. He thus induced the Sultān to send him as his representative. Ulūgh Khān kissed the *Shaykh*'s feet and placed before him the royal gifts which consisted of a grant (*mithāl*) of four villages and some cash. "What is this ?" enquired the *Shaykh* as Ulūgh Khān placed the royal presents before him. "Here is some cash and here is a *mithāl* of four villages which I have brought for you. The cash is for the *durveshes* and the *mithāl* is for you." Ulūgh Khān submitted. The *Shaykh* smiled and said "Give this cash to me. I will distribute it among the *durveshes*. But take away this *mithāl*. There are many who desire it. Give it to them."

Whenever the *Shaykh* accepted any cash he distributed it at once amongst the needy and the poor. He did not keep anything in his *Ḍarwāḡah* even for a single night. A story mentioned in the *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* very neatly illustrates the *Shaykh*'s practice. Once Balban sent a

<sup>1</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāh* p. 207

<sup>2</sup> For details of the incident, see Barani, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāh*, p. 212. Isāfī *Futūḥ-ur-Salātīn*, pp. 210-213. See also Professor Shāh 'Abd-ur-Rahīm's excellent article on Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn Firūz Shāh Balbān in the *Muslim University Journal*, 1931, pp. 139-141.

<sup>3</sup> *Fawā'id-ul-Furūd*, p. 99

*Swar-ul-Ashyā*, pp. 79-80

tray of *tanbaks* to him. The saint accepted the offer after reluctance and ordered Maulānā Badr-u'd-din Ishāq to distribute amongst the poor. The sun had already set and it was late in the evening. The Shaikh could not wait for the day. His *Jamā'at* Khā storehouse of presents from the king. Maulānā Badr-u'd-din followed the orders of his Shaikh and began to disburse the money amongst the poor. Having finished the work, he brought the can to see whether any coin remained there. He found a coin left in his cap to deliver it to some poor fellow in the night. Afterwards Bābā Farid went to the mosque to lead the prayer. Three times he began the prayer and then discontinued it, as something which weighed heavily on his heart and disturbed his concentration of his mind. "Maulānā Badr-u'd-din," interjected Farid, "Have you distributed all that money?" "Yes," replied Bābā Farid, "but one coin remains." Bābā Farid angrily took that coin and threw it away, and then peacefully led the prayer. Asghar Chughtai adds that throughout the night Bābā Farid was thinking why he had touched that coin.<sup>1</sup>

During the period of his prime-ministership Balban was anxious to secure the throne. Eager to seek spiritual fulfilment of this desire, which secretly tormented his mind, he turned to the Shaikh. The saint, whose intuition had revealed to him the desire of Ulugh Khān's heart, at once recited the quatrain

فرح فرشته بود و رستم سرشده بود  
لو داد و دهی کی فریدون توئی

(Faridun, the blessed, was not an angel, he was a mortal of agallochum or ambergis. He attained that position through his bounty and liberality. Thou shouldst be like him and Faridun is thee).<sup>2</sup>

It is said that Balban had great faith in the saint's piety or devotion could not, in any way, influence the saint's attitude towards the Sultān. Once a man who was in great distress turned to the Shaikh to write a letter of recommendation to the Sultān. But the Shaikh's practice to write recommendatory letters

<sup>1</sup> *Jawāhir-i-Faridi*, (MS)

<sup>2</sup> Shaikh Nigām-u'd-din Auhya refers to a saint Khwāja Karim who touched any coin after taking up *faqr*. *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 11

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auhya*, pp. 81-82

<sup>4</sup> *Mafāhish-u'l-Jalālin*, (MS)

The author of *Siyar-u'l-Auhya* tells us that once Sultān Ghiyās-ud-din to see the Shaikh. Thousands of people gathered in the Khāna to see him. A mysterious voice advised him not to be annoyed by the visitors. Thereafter the Shaikh never refused interview to any visitor and never showed any annoyance when thronged by visitors (p. 167)

or the officials. He avoided it, but when the person insisted he did not deem it proper to injure his feelings. He wrote the following letter

رفعت قصتي الى الله ثم اليك فان اعطيتك شيئا فالعطي هو الله وانت  
المشكور وان لم تعطه شيئا فالمانع هو الله وانت المعذور<sup>1</sup>

(I referred his matter first to God and then to you. If you will grant anything to him, the real Giver is God but you will get the credit for it. If you do not give him anything, the real preventer is God and you are helpless in the matter.)

Every word of this brief letter is dignified and shows the extent to which the Shaikh maintained the dignity of religion and mysticism before worldly powers.

### A POPULAR BUT INCORRECT STORY

'Adi Asghar Chishti says that Shaikh Farid had married a daughter of Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-din Balban<sup>2</sup>. He gives a long account of the marriage and the relations between the Shaikh and the Sultān. Later writers have copied this account uncritically and now, the story has assumed the sanctity of an unchallengeable tradition in the *Kh̄awāṣṣ*-*Farīdiyyah*. There are strong reasons for disbelieving this story.

First, no contemporary historian refers to it. There are several passages in the *Tārīkh-i-Fir̄s* Shahī of Dīn-u'd-din Baranī where one feels that had it been a fact, Baranī would have surely mentioned it. Secondly, the author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* who belonged to a family closely associated with the Shaikh, does not mention this fact at all, though he has referred to some minor incidents of Balban's faith and respect for Bābā Farid. Had it been true he would have never omitted it. The *Fawā'id-i-Fu'ād*, the *Shuhar-u'l-Majālis* and the *Ahsan-u'l-Aqwāl* contain many important facts about the Shaikh's life but none refers to this marriage of the saint with the Sultān's daughter. Thirdly, the Shaikh who always advised his disciples to abstain from the society of princes and kings would never have preached honesty with a stolen goose in his armpit. It can, therefore, be definitely rejected as a later concoction fondly circulated by uncritical and superstitious munda.

### SHER KHAN AND THE SHAIKH

Sher Khān, a cousin of Balban, was the governor of Multān. He was a gifted administrator and a valiant soldier. He protected the north-western frontier at a very critical moment in the history of this

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 72

<sup>2</sup> *Jam'iat-i-Faridi*, (MS)

country. He had no faith in the saint and sometimes spoke ill about him. The Shaikh used to recite the couplet .

افسوس که ارمال منّت نیست خبر  
آنگه خدایت شود که افسوس حوری<sup>1</sup>

(Alas! You have no knowledge of my condition. When you will come to know, what will be use of being sorry).

The Shaikh's sayings, as quoted in the *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, contain numerous precepts for the general public. One and only one advice is given to the political authorities

ملک بوزیر خدا ترس منت کن<sup>2</sup>

(Entrust the country to a God-fearing *wasir*).

<sup>1</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 221

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 77

## CHAPTER XX

### Relations with the Non-Muslims

With the settlement of the Mussalmāns in India conciliation and concord between the various culture-groups was not only a moral and intellectual demand but an urgent social necessity. The conquerors had established their political supremacy by virtue of certain moral and physical qualities, but they could not continue to rule while the majority of their subjects differed from them in race, language, religion and culture. The orthodox theologians, conservative and reactionary as they were, rarely appreciated the change in the mood of the time and seldom tried to reconstruct their religious thought according to the needs of the hour. The Muslim mystics, however, rose to the occasion and released syncretic forces which liquidated social, ideological and linguistic barriers between the various culture-groups of India and helped in the development of a common cultural outlook. As their *Khānqahs* were the only places where people of different shades of opinion, professing different religions and speaking different languages met, these *Khānqahs* became veritable centres of cultural synthesis where ideas were freely exchanged and a common medium for this exchange was evolved.

Shaiikh Farid-u'd-dīn Mas'ud Ganj-i-Shakar is the first Indo-Muslim saint about whose contacts with the Hindu religious thinkers and religious discussions with them we have clear and definite information. Hindu *Jogis*<sup>1</sup> used to visit his *jamā'at Khānqah* very frequently and his inmates sometimes discussed interesting problems with them. Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya twice met Hindu *Jogis* in his *jamā'at Khānqah*.<sup>2</sup> He discussed with them the two elements in human nature—the spiritual and the animal. The exposition of the Hindu ideas on the subject was much appreciated by Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn

---

<sup>1</sup> The word *Jogi* or *Yogi* means a student of the Yoga school of philosophy, which teaches how, by suppression of the breath, mental abstraction, and the like one can obtain supernatural powers of divination, second sight etc. They were worshippers of Siva, and were divided into two groups—the *Kamphatta Jogis* (also known as *Darshanis*) and *Auger Jogis*. The former used to pierce their ears. They burned their dead in a sitting posture. For details, see Wilson, *Secrets of the Hindus*, p. 130 et seq. Hbbetson, *Punjab Castes*, pp. 228-235. Bhattacharyya, *Hindu Castes and Sects*, pp. 371, 399-400, 236. Some *Jogi* families may still be found in Paipattan. *Punjab District Gazetteers*, Vol. XVIII B, p. KKIX.

<sup>2</sup> *Faṣṣā'id-u-l-Faṣṣā'id*, pp. 84-85, 245.



Auhyā.<sup>1</sup> On another occasion a Hindu Jogī explained to him his views about the birth and character of children, relationship between wife and husband and other similar subjects.<sup>2</sup>

In what language did the Shaikh converse with the Hindu Jogis? Obviously all these conversations must have been carried in the earliest form of Urdu, i.e. *Hindui*. We have more than one evidence of the Shaikh speaking in Hindiwi.<sup>3</sup> In fact the *Khānqah* of Bābā Farid was one of the earliest cradles of the Urdu language.<sup>4</sup>

It is for the first time in the accounts of Shaikh Farid that we find a reference to the *Kāfirān-i-Siyah-Pogh*.<sup>5</sup> It is stated in the *Aḥsan-u'l-Aqwāl* on the authority of Shaikh Burhān-u'd-din Qharīb that the *Kāfirs* once visited the Shaikh *incognito* as Muslim *faqirs*. The Shaikh welcomed

<sup>1</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 84-85. The Shaikh told his audience "Once I was in the presence of the Great Shaikh in Ajodhan. A Jogī came. I asked him "Which way do you follow? What is the real thing in your discipline?" He (the Jogī) replied "Our science says that there are two worlds ('*ālam*) in the human *nafs*. One is the '*ālam-i-'Uluḥ*, the other is the '*ālam-i-Sifl*. From head to navel it is '*ālam-i-'Uluḥ* and from navel to feet it is '*ālam-i-Sifl*. The way to discipline is that there is all sincerity, purity, good manners and good dealings in '*ālam-i-'Uluḥ*. In '*ālam-i-Sifl* there is observation, purity & chastity. I liked his conversation."

<sup>2</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auhyā*, pp. 183, 185, 194.

<sup>4</sup> See also, *The Sufis Work in the Early Development of Urdu Language*, Dr. Maulvi 'Abd-ul-Haq, pp. 5-7.

<sup>5</sup> When Muslim political power extended to Afghanistan and India, the conquest took its usual paths along the great rivers and high ways, and for centuries the inaccessible recesses of the Hindukush remained untouched. The inhabitants practised their own religion and became known to the surrounding Muslim civilisation as the *Siyah-pogh Kāfirs* of the Hindukush. Timūr tried twice to turn this region into a dependency (1399 A.D.). A marble pillar, not far from the fortress of Najil commemorates the victory of Timūr over the *Siyah-Pogh Kāfirs*. Ahmad Shāh unified Afghanistan, Dost Muhammad completed his work by annexing Ancient Bactria (1851), but Kāfiristān remained practically independent. In 1896 Amir 'Abd-ul-Rahmān organized an expedition against them. Alexander Burnes writes about them in 1838 "They have no distinction of black and white Kāfirs that I could hear of, and one of the Kāfir informants assured me that his tribe looked upon all as brothers, who wore ringlets and drank wine. They have no books, nor a reading or writing known in the nation." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VII, p. 326.

Sir G. C. Robertson gives the following information "The old division of Kāfiristān into the countries held by the *Siyah-Pogh* and those inhabited by the *Safed-Pogh* was more convenient than scientifically correct. The *Siyah-Pogh*, the black-robed Kāfirs, are made up of several different tribes some of which have been at war with one another from time immemorial, but in spite of that, they have a good deal more in common than merely a resemblance in dress. They do not all speak the same language, but the difference in speech appears to be more a difference of dialect than a radical distinction of language. A convenient classification is to divide all Kāfirs into (1) *Siyah-Pogh*, (2) *Walgulis*, (3) *Presungulis* or *Viroa* people." pp. 74-75. For interesting details about the *Siyah-Pogh Kāfirs*, see the Kāfirs of the Hindukush, Sir George Scott Robertson, (London 1900). A. Burnes's article "On the *Siyah-Pogh Kāfirs* with specimens of their language and customs" (*J. A. S. B.* 1838, pp. 325-333), *Afghanistan and its Late Amir*, published by the Christian Literature Society for India, (London & Madras, 1902) pp. 12-13, Rolf Henri's article "The Wooden Sculptures of Kāfiristān" (*J. R. A. S.* Vol. XVI, No. 1, 1950, pp. 65-72); Morgenson's "Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan" (Stockholm, 1935).

the party, but understood the game that the visitors were playing. He asked his servant to take the leader of the party to a small room and lock him up but to give food and water to the rest. After three days Shaikh Farid visited the room of the leader and asked "Oh you! I will release you if you accept Islām." The Shaikh's observation must have sounded strange to his disciples in the *Jamā'at Khānah* as the visitor was already showing himself as a Mussalmān. The leader promised to accept Islām. When he came out he had the sacred thread of the Hindūs under the *Kurqah* of the Muslim mystics that he was wearing. He told the Shaikh that he had visited the *langars* (kitchens) of Muslim saints of *Khurāsān* and Hindustān for 30 years, but none had ever been able to discover him.<sup>1</sup>

### BĀBĀ FARĪD AND CONVERSION OF HINDUS TO ISLĀM

Did Bābā Farid convert any Hindus to Islām? Professor Muḥammad Habib has said in one of his articles that "converting non-Muslims was no part of the mission of Chishtī *Silsilah*."<sup>2</sup> He says that early mystic records (*malfūzāt* and *maktūbāt*) do not refer to a single case of conversion. Thus, of course, is correct. But the tradition in some of the tribes of the Punjab is almost incontrovertible on this point. The tribes claim<sup>3</sup> and have been claiming for centuries that their ancestors were converted to Islām by the great saint. Their claim will hold good unless challenged on the basis of some positive historical evidence.

The following tribes living in and around Pak-pattan claim to have been converted to Islām by Bābā Farid

1. *Sial*
2. *Sarhangwāl, an*
3. *Rahlyān*
4. *Ad'akān*
5. *Jhakarwāhan*
6. *Bakkān*
7. *Hakān*
8. *Sian*
9. *Khokarān*
10. *Dhudhyān*.
11. *Tobryān*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Akbar-n'ī-Aqwāl*, MS

<sup>2</sup> *Islamic Culture*, April 1946, p. 140

<sup>3</sup> E. G. See *Jawāhir-i-Farīd*, concluding section

Hunter *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. X, p. 532

<sup>4</sup> These tribes have been referred to by the author of the *Jawāhir-i-Farīd*.

The *Sial* tribe is one of the most important tribes of the Punjab. Steedman says that the modern history of the Jhang district is the history of the *Sial*. About the antecedents of this tribe he writes "The *Sial* are descended from Rai Shankar, a Punwar Rajput, a resident of Daranagar between Allahabad and Fattahpur. A branch of the Punwars had previously emigrated from their native country to Jaunpur, and it was there that Rai Shankar was born. One story has it that Rai Shankar had three sons, Seo, Teo, and Gheo, from whom have descended the *Sials* of Jhang, the *Tiwanas* of Shahpur and the *Ghebas* of Pindi Gheb. Another tradition states that *Sial* was the only son of Rai Shankar, and that the ancestors of the *Tiwanas* and *Ghebas* were only collateral relations of Shankar and *Sial*. On the death of Rai Shankar we are told that great dissensions arose among the members of the family, and his son *Sial* emigrated during the reign of Allauddin Ghorî (?) to the Punjab. It was at this time that many Rajput families emigrated from the Provinces of Hindustan to the Panjab, including the ancestors of the *Kharrais*, *Tiwanas*, *Ghebas*, *Chaddhars*, and *Punwar Sials*. It was the fashion in those days to be converted to the Muhammadan religion by the eloquent exhortations of the sainted Bawa Farid of Pak Pattan, and accordingly we find that *Sial* in his wanderings came to Pak Pattan and there renounced the religion of his ancestors."<sup>1</sup>

No definite information is available about the *Sarhangwālian*. Is it possible to connect this tribe with *Sarhangā* whose devotion to *Shahkh Farid* has been discussed earlier?<sup>2</sup>

The *Khokars*, the *Dhudis* and the *Tobes* were important tribes of the Punjab. The *Khokars* are ordinarily considered a Rajput tribe. They are most numerous along the valleys of the Jhelum and Chunab, and specially in the Jhang and Shahpur districts.<sup>3</sup> The *Dhudis* are a small Punwar clan found with their kinsmen — the *Rathor* — scattered along the Sutlej and the Chunab. Their original seat is said to have been in the *Mailsi tahsil* of Multān.<sup>4</sup> The *Tobas* generally belong to the *Jhunwar* and *Macchi* castes, and are often fishermen as well as sinkers

<sup>1</sup> Steedman, *The Jhang Settlement report*, p. 244, also Ibbetson, *Punjab Castes*, p. 147-8, Lepel Griffin, *Punjab Chiefs*, p. 502 et seq. For the tradition about the conversion of the *Sial* tribe to Islam see *The Punjab Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> See Supra, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Punjab Castes*, pp. 172-173.

<sup>4</sup> Frightah (Vol. I, pp. 59-60) says that the tribe of *Khokhars* was converted to Islam by Sultan Shihā-t-u'd-din of Ghur. Probably a part of the tribe was converted to Islam by him. Bābā Farid too would have converted a part of the tribe, because even now the tribe is divided between the two religions. See *Report on the Census of the Punjab*, pp. 257-8. In 1911 there were 8,093 Muslim *Khokhars* in the Montgomery district, where Bābā Farid's influence is very great (*Punjab District Gazetteers*, Vol. XVIII, B, 1913, p. XXX).

<sup>5</sup> *Punjab Castes*, p. 147. The total number of *Dhudī Mussalmāns* in the Montgomery District is given as 778. Of these 641 lived in Pak-Pattan. *Punjab District Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII, B, 1913, p. XXXII.

and cleaners of wells.<sup>1</sup> The *Jhahars* are also a small caste, comprising of both Muslims and Non-Muslims.<sup>2</sup>

Some ceremonies at the shrine of Bābā Farīd on the occasion of his 'Urs (Death Anniversary) show the deep attachment of some converted tribes to the great saint. The ceremonial distribution of *Jullā* (small bread with *Halwah* on it) refers to the occasion when the Jalhora, a caste of fishermen, had joined the discipleship of the saint. The *Jullā* is prepared by the women of the Macchī caste.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Panjab Castes*, p 264, also *Panjab District Gazetteer*, Vol XVIII B, p XXXIII

<sup>2</sup> *The Panjab District Gazetteer*, Vol XVIII, II, p XXXIV

<sup>3</sup> See also a small booklet on the Urs ceremonies at the shrine of Bābā Farīd, by Pir Sayyid Imām 'Alī Shāh published in 1341 A H /1922 A D

## CHAPTER XXI

### Estimate

المر يطلع من فريده جديده : والقمر يعرب في شقائق حده  
ملك الجمال باسره كالما : حسن البريه كله من عنده

Shaikh Farid expired in 1265 A.D. During the 688 years that have passed since his death, this sub-continent has witnessed countless political upheavals. Innumerable rulers have appeared on and disappeared from the stage of history, empires have been set up and pulled down, civilisations have come and gone, but throughout these multitudinous changes his mausoleum has remained a place of deep veneration, love and devotion for the people. Even Timūr, who, during his cyclonic invasion of India, carried sword and fire into every town that came in his way, spared Ajodhan, put his sword in the scabbard and respectfully presented himself at the shrine of the great saint.<sup>1</sup> Posterity has treasured his memory with love and respect.<sup>2</sup> Muslims, Hindus<sup>4</sup> and Sikhs<sup>5</sup> alike hold him in high esteem. Accounts of travellers,<sup>6</sup> saints,<sup>7</sup> and kings<sup>8</sup> are full of respectful visits to his shrine.

So long as Bābā Farid lived he was the cynosure of public eyes. People visited him from far and near and basked in the sunshine of his spiritual favours. We find in his Khānqah visitors from Khurāsān,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 58. These verses are taken from an old *qasidah* written in praise of Shaikh Farid. "The full moon rises from the forehead of Farid, and in the redness of his countenance the sun sets. He is the king of Beauty. The entire creation derives beauty from him."

<sup>2</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Firāqīyah*, I, p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> The town of Faridkot was named after him. See M. Longworth Dams's article in the *Ency of Islam*, II, p. 67.

David Ross, utterly ignorant of the Shaikh's life and character, writes "Bābā Farid is alleged to have been the head, if not the founder, of the Thaggs. He is one of their patron saints. Through the mystic agency of numerous Thagg heads he exercised great influence all over India and brought about extraordinary occurrences." *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sind*, p. 112. Such statements betray colossal ignorance of Muslim religious life and institutions of medieval India and should be treated with the contempt they deserve.

<sup>4</sup> Munshi Mohan Lal writes about him in 1836: "The Hindus of this country believe him to be an inspired man, and pay respect to his monument like the Muslims." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, October 1836, p. 637.

<sup>5</sup> *Oriental College Magazine*, 1938-1939.

<sup>6</sup> Rihla Ibn Battūṭah, Vol. II, pp. 13-14. *Journal of Captain Wade's Voyage*, J.A.S.B. 1937, pp. 192-3.

<sup>7</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 75-77. *Tahmilah Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 112.

<sup>8</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Firāqīyah*, 'Aff, p. 198. *Badd'ams*, Vol. II, p. 133.

<sup>9</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 63-64.

Jurjān,<sup>1</sup> Dehli,<sup>2</sup> Uchch,<sup>3</sup> Nāgaur,<sup>4</sup> Multān,<sup>5</sup> Ajmer,<sup>6</sup> Buhār,<sup>7</sup> and Lakhnawti.<sup>8</sup> "There was no end to visitors," Shaiḥh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā informs us, "the door of Shaiḥh Farid's house was not closed till about midnight."<sup>9</sup> These visitors included all sorts of men—ministers, *maliks*, soldiers, mystics, merchants, scholars, etc. Those who knew him best loved him most, and none came into touch with his eager, sympathetic and beautiful nature without receiving an impulse to higher aims. The hard hearted man of business and the fastidious man of letters were equally touched by his conversation and the charm of his character.

It is difficult to imagine to-day the extent to which he was loved and revered by his disciples.<sup>10</sup> They came from distant places to pass some days of spiritual bliss at the feet of their master and when they thought of going back to their homes their hearts ached.<sup>11</sup> He was a model of moral and spiritual perfection for his disciples and they carefully noted every word and act of his and followed him according to their capacities.

Disciples apart, eminent contemporary mystics held him in high esteem.<sup>12</sup> Shaiḥh Bahā'u'd-dīn Zakariyyā offered to exchange all his disciples for Shaiḥh Jamāl-u'd-dīn Hānsawī a favourite disciple of the Shaiḥh.<sup>13</sup> Shaiḥh Badr-u'd-dīn Qharnawi once wrote to him in a letter

در پناه خاطر من گر جمع بودی      بدو عشق کردمی گوهر لسانی  
فریدالدین وصلت یار منم      که بادش در کرامت ر دجائی<sup>14</sup>

(Doubtless, had my heart been quiet and collected I would have scattered pearls of praise. Farid u'd-dīn wa-Milal is a great friend. May his life be spent in bestowing spiritual gifts.)

See *idī* Mawā'iz came from Jurjān to see the Shaiḥh

<sup>1</sup> *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād* p. 215

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar-u'l Auliya* p. 81

<sup>3</sup> *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād* pp. 10, 189

<sup>4</sup> *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād* p. 215

<sup>5</sup> *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād* p. 238

<sup>6</sup> *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 57

<sup>7</sup> *Siyar-u'l Auliya*, p. 335

<sup>8</sup> *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād* p. 71. See also *Siyar-u'l Auliya* p. 114

<sup>9</sup> For Shaiḥh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya's life see *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād* p. 149. Also his complete biography of Shaiḥh Farid is quoted by Shaiḥh Abd ul Wāhid Ibrahim in *Sub Sanābil*, p. 57.

<sup>10</sup> *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 156-157

<sup>11</sup> Qāḍi Husein u'd-dīn Nāgauri an erudite scholar and a very respectful saint of Dehli addressed him thus:

فقیر حقیر معذب      محف محظوظ  
سر و دیده ساب قدم ایشان<sup>1</sup>

*Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād* p. 150

Allah Dihah says (*Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb* p. 162) that the name Farid-u'd-dīn was given to him by the famous mystic poet Khwāja Farid u'd-dīn 'Attār. No earlier writer has referred to it and no reliance can be placed on it in view of the fact that Bābā Farid was born in India and Khwāja 'Attār never visited this country.

<sup>12</sup> *Gulshār-i-Abrār* (MS)

<sup>13</sup> *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 150

It was due to his spiritual greatness and his reputation that a grandson of the founder of the Chishtī Silsilah in India, Khwāja Wahid-u'd-dīn, requested him to admit him to his discipline.<sup>1</sup> During the reign of Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd (1246-1266 A D) the Shaikh was an outstanding figure of all-India importance. The following account of Amīr Hasan will give some idea of his eminence and popularity. In the month of Shawwāl 651 A H / 1252 A D Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn marched towards Uchh and Multān. In the way his soldiers decided to pay their respects to the great Shaikh. When the soldiers flocked to the city all the streets and bazars of Ajodhan were blocked. How to meet and see the Shaikh? A sleeve of Bābā Farīd's shirt was hung up on a thoroughfare. An ocean of humanity began to surge. The sleeve was torn to pieces due to overcrowding. The Shaikh himself was so painfully mobbed that he requested his *murīds* to encircle him in order to save his person from the eager public trying to elbow its way to him. But an old *farrāgh* (a menial servant who spreads the carpets) who was not satisfied with merely offering *salām* from a distance, broke through into the circle and fell on the Shaikh's feet, pulled them towards himself, kissed them and exclaimed "Shaikh Farīd! You feel annoyed and do not thank God for his blessings." The Shaikh began to weep. He thanked the *farrāgh* for his admonition and asked for his pardon.<sup>2</sup>

Bābā Farīd's greatness was the greatness of a loving heart. Day and night he attended to the problems of the misery-stricken people, assuaged their wounds, pulled up their hearts and infused new life and confidence in their broken nerves. His sympathy gave them the courage they needed to face the ordeals of life. Very different were the problems that they brought to him. "I have many daughters, but have very meagre means. I am worried about their marriage." "My brother is very seriously ill. He might have expired in the meantime."<sup>3</sup> "My

<sup>1</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 238

<sup>2</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 145-146

When the Shaikh visited Dehli after the death of his master, Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kāki, he was deluged by visitors and friends. From the small hours of the morning till late into the night he had to attend to his visitors, and accept their invitations for feasts. He had to start for Friday prayer much before time because it was difficult to reach the mosque in time for prayer due to large crowds of admirers on the way. As he stepped out of his house, people eagerly rushed towards him, kissed his hands and encircled him. No sooner did he manage to come out of this circle that he found himself encircled by another group. He got rid of one circle to be enmeshed into another and this process went on until he reached the mosque tired and wearied. One day he felt annoyed with the people who had surrounded him on his way to the mosque. "This is a blessing of God," a disciple told him, "why do you get annoyed?" *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 145

<sup>3</sup> *Khair-u'l-Majāhīs*, p. 147. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 85-86

officer is very harsh on me<sup>1</sup>." The Shaykh's heart went out in sympathy to everyone<sup>2</sup>.

The Shaykh had taken upon himself the stupendous task of lifting up humanity from the pitfalls and quagmires of sin and superstition, and to this task he applied himself with remarkable zeal and singleness of purpose. From early morning till late into the night a stream of visitors flowed into his khānqah. He cheerfully welcomed everyone and never got sick of the visitors who brought to him tales of their misery.

The Shaykh was a living embodiment of those moral principles and precepts which he taught to the people. Behind every ethical principle which he expounded there was the force of his own example. It was difficult, therefore, to resist the influence of his teaching.

Bābā Farid did not like casuistical discussions. His clear, frank and lucid exposition rarely left any room for debate. He went to the heart of every problem and so when he ended his elucidation his opponent found himself convinced. Arrogant and pedantic scholars were hypnotised by the Shaykh's power of conversation.

The Shaykh had all those qualities of head and heart which were needed to build up an organization, a deep understanding of human nature combined with clarity of thought and intuitive intelligence. Never did his mind err in assessing the real worth and value of a *murid*. He always selected the best men for the most difficult job. When Shaykh Nizām u'd dīn Auliya went to pay his respects to him at Ajodhan, he was in his nineties but all his mental and physical faculties were as sharp and alert as ever. There was a large number of disciples round him, some quite old and experienced but he selected this newly arrived young man to succeed him. And who can say that the choice was not sound?

Bābā Farid passed his long life in extremely indigent circumstances. Clad in grubby and tattered clothes, living in a tumbling mud-house, he was proud of his poverty. He could, had he ever so desired, lead a life of affluence and plenty. The rulers were always there with *mithāls* of

<sup>1</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 147

<sup>2</sup> Sharf-u'd-dīn, a grandson of Qāḍī Hamīd-u'n-nīn Nāgauri reached Ajodhan from Nāgaur to request the Shaykh to admit him into his discipline. His slave-girl, whom he had purchased for a hundred *tanhaks*, gave him a handkerchief to be presented to the Shaykh on her behalf. When Sharf-u'd-dīn placed her present before the Shaykh, he remarked

خدايش آزادى ده

(May God set her free)

The Shaykh's remark set Sharf-u'd-dīn thinking and after considerable mental deliberation he at last decided to set her free. *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 188-189



*Jāgirs*, but the Shaikh preferred to starve rather than debase the traditions of higher mysticism and dishonour himself by chiming in with the moods of the rulers and indulging in political flattery. Continued starvation often brought his children to the verge of death, but Shaikh Farid, who had nerves of steel, stuck like a granite to his principles and allowed the storms to rage round him

What type of social order the Shaikh desired to be established in the world? His *Jamā'at Khānah* gives some idea of his social aims. Every inmate of the *Jamā'at Khānah* had to work and contribute his share of labour towards the management of the household. Whenever food was available every body had his equal share, no special dishes or preferential treatment was permitted for any one. All lived, studied, slept and prayed in a large room. No discrimination, on any ground, not even on the basis of piety (*ittiqā*) was permitted to prevail in the *Jamā'at Khānah*. All lived there with the same facilities and suffered from the same difficulties and misfortunes. Let us not forget that it was the age of Balban when hideous distinctions were being perpetrated between man and man. The Turkish aristocracy rolled in purple and enjoyed all the fruits of an expanding imperialism while the common people toiled and struggled ceaselessly for their bread. The Sultān had so completely segregated himself from the commonalty that to long for an interview with him was to cry for the moon.<sup>1</sup> As Khusrāw had said:<sup>2</sup>

مردی و رایی امکان چه خیال فاسد است این  
هوس جمال سلطان بدل گدا بشنم

The Sultān's hatred for men of low and obscure origin was so intense that he mercilessly dismissed them all from public offices.<sup>3</sup> What a contrast to the ideals of Shaikh Farid! To him all human beings were equal, 'made of the self-same clay', whatever their race, creed, colour or status. Though within the political confines of the Sultanate of Delhi, the *Jamā'at-Khānah* of Shaikh Farid was not a part of the Delhi Empire. It was at that time, the only place under the Indian sun where the Emperor of Hindustān and a penniless pauper were received in the same way. The contamination of court life had not touched its spiritual serenity and classless atmosphere. It was an oasis of love in a world of strifes and conflicts. The Shaikh who presided over this *Jamā'at*

<sup>1</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Firās Shāhī*, Barani, pp. 29-33.

A rich Delhi merchant offered all his wealth for the honour of one interview with the Sultān, his ambition was never fulfilled.

<sup>2</sup> This couplet occurs in *Ghurrat-u'l-Kamāl* (See *Diwān-i-Amir Khusrāw*, p. 406). It was composed at a time when Balban was fresh in the memory of the poet.

<sup>3</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Firās Shāhī*, pp. 36-37.

Balban reprimanded his prime minister, Nizām-u'l-Mulk, and ordered an inquiry into his own descent because he had supported a man of an obscure origin on grounds of his experience and ability.

Amir was a tower of strength for the low born, the down trodden, the humble and the despised people whom he inspired and cheered in their struggle for existence—

Struggler in life's weary battle,  
Though misfortune's lot you know  
Though your task be heavy,  
Sink not tamely down in woe

With these traditions of poverty, penitence, selfless devotion to the cause of humanity and eagerness for the moral and spiritual uplift of man, Shah Farid remains alike an example and an inspiration to all men for all time In the words of Shelley

*"His fate and fame shall be  
An echo and a light unto eternity"*

## APPENDIX A

### Why Ganj-i-Shakar ?

Shaiikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya has referred to his master full one hundred times in his conversations, the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*. It is surprising, that he has not used anywhere the title, 'Ganj-i-Shakar'. Later *tadhkirahs*, however, always call him Ganj-i-Shakar and give various reasons for this title

(I) The author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* says that he was called 'Ganj-i-Shakar' or 'Shakar-bār' because some pebbles, which he had put into his mouth in extreme hunger due to continued fasts, had turned into sugar crystals, (pp 67-68).

(II) Maulānā Jamālī says that one day Bābā Farid went to see his master. He was wearing wooden sandals and the roads were muddy due to rain. He had been fasting for seven days and was extremely weak. He slipped and fell on the ground. Some mud touched his mouth and instantly turned into sugar. When he reached the residence of his master, the latter remarked.

”بانا فرید الدین مسعود! بدین پاره گلی کہ در دہنت رسید  
و شکر گشت، محبت نیست کہ حضرت نزاری و تعالیٰ وجود ترا گنج شکر  
گردانیده است، همواره شیریں حواہی شد“

(Bābā Farid-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd! A little mud that went into your mouth has turned into sugar. No wonder if the Almighty turns your whole being into a treasure of sugar and keeps it always sweet.)

Jamālī says that when Bābā Farid returned from his master's house he heard people saying everywhere "Behold! Shaiikh Farid, the Ganj-i-Shakar is coming" *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, pp. 46-47

(III) One day a merchant came to Ajodhan in order to see the Shaiikh. He was carrying sugar with him. The Shaiikh asked him for some sugar. The merchant replied that he had salt, not sugar, with him. "It shall be salt," was Bābā Farid's reply. On opening the sacks the merchant found, to his great surprise, that there was all salt in them. He rushed to the Shaiikh and begged for his pardon and its reversion into sugar. The Shaiikh's prayers turned the salt into sugar. From that time the Shaiikh came to be known as Ganj-i-Shakar. Bāram

Khān Khān-i-Khānān who had great faith in Bābā Farid thus refers to this incident in a couplet

کائنات نمک، جهان شکر، شیخ معروفر  
آن کز شکر نمک کند و از نمک شکر

(Mine of Salt, World of Sugar, Lord of Ocean and Earth who turns sugar into salt and salt into sugar) *Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār*. pp 52-53

(iv) Muḥammad Ghauthī says that one day the Shaiḥ met some *Banjāras*<sup>1</sup> who were carrying sugar. The Shaiḥ asked them as to what they were carrying. Fearing lest the saint might demand something they replied that they were carrying salt. "It will be salt," said the Shaiḥ. The sugar at once turned into salt. The *Banjāras* repented and the Shaiḥ converted it again into sugar. *Gulzar-i-Abrār*, MS

(v) Bābā Farid was very fond of sugar in his childhood. Once his mother told him "God sends sugar to that boy who punctually offers his morning prayers," and began to keep a small packet of sugar under his pillow every night. When Bābā Farid offered his prayers in the morning he found that packet under his pillow. When Bābā Farid reached his twelfth year his mother stopped putting that packet, but the packet continued to reach him from the divine source. His mother did not know about this. Once she asked him whether he was receiving that sugar. She was taken by surprise when she received the reply in affirmative. She made a careful inquiry and was convinced that the gift came from the divine source. *Iarikh-i-Fariḡhah*, Vol II, p 338.

Whatever the reason, the saint is known and remembered today as *Gang-i-Shahar*. In this book I have related him either Shaiḥ Farid, following Shaiḥ Nizām-u-d-dīn Awṣiā, or Bābā Farid, following Shaiḥ 'Alā-u-d-dīn Ajodharī.

---

<sup>1</sup> The term *Banjara*, derived from *banj* 'a trader' or perhaps from *banj* 'a pedlar's pack' is used for travelling traders. For details, see *Panjab Castles*, pp 254-255, *Races of the North Western Provinces of India* Vol I pp 52-56.

## APPENDIX B

### Apocryphal Malfuz Literature attributed to Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Mas'ud Ganj-i-Shakar

The following works are generally attributed to Shaikh Farid

(1) *Fawā'id-u's-Salākin*, alleged to have been the *malfūz* of Khwāja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyār Kāki compiled by Shaikh Farid-u'd-din

(2) *Asrār-u'l-Auliā*, alleged to be the *malfūz* of Bābā Farid, compiled by Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ishāq

(3) *Rāhat-u'l-Qulūb*, alleged to be the *malfūz* of Bābā Farid, compiled by Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliā

Both internal as well as external evidence militates against the theory of their genuineness. Professor Muhammad Habib has shown in his thought-provoking article "*Chughti Mystic Records of the Sultanate Period*," (*Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol I No 2, pp 1-43) that all this literature is fabricated and cannot be used, with any justification, for reconstructing the lives or teachings of the Chughti saints.

(1) Amīr Hasan records on Wednesday, 15 Muḥarram 709 A.H. (June 1309 A.D.) in his *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd* "A friend was present. He said, 'A man showed me a book in Awadh and said it was written by you.' Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din replied: 'He spoke wrongly. I have not written any book.' " لغوت گفتہ است من هیچ کتابی نہ نوشتم ام P 45.

In view of this statement the *Rāhat-u'l-Qulūb* may safely be rejected as a fabrication.

(2) Hamid Qalandar records in his *Khair-u'l-Mayāhs* "A friend represented 'There is a difficulty in the *malfūz* of Shaikh 'Uthmān Harvanī. It is this.' " Shaikh Naṣir-u'd-din replied "These *Malfūz* are not his. I have also come across this manuscript, there are many statements in it which are not worthy of his conversations. Shaikh-u'l-Islām Farid-u'd-din, nor Shaikh-u'l-Islām Qutb-u'd-din nor the Chughti saints nor any of the preceding Shaikhs of my order has written any book."

"این مملوٰط ایشان نیست - این نسخہا بر منی ہم رسیدہ است و دران بہار الفاظ است کہ مناسب اقوال ایشان نیست .. خدمت شیخ نظام الدین می فرمود کہ من هیچ کتابی نہ نوشتم ام' زیرا کہ خدمت شیخ الاسلام فریدالدین و شیخ الاسلام قطب الدین و خواجگان چشت نامی اللہ ارواحہم و ارشادہم شعری ماہیج شیخی تصدیق نہ کردہ است." *Khair-u'l-Mayāhs*, p. 52.

These are the statements and verdicts of those saints who were the real inheritors of the spiritual legacy and traditions of Bābā Farid. The

fact that they considered this literature as fake and fiction is sufficient for their rejection as unreliable

(3) The following passage from the conversations of Sayyid Muḥammad Gūsū Darāz throws considerable light on the *malfūz* attributed to Shaiḫ Farid-u'd-dīn

ملفوظی اران شیخ فریدالدین در اجودھن دیدم کہ آن را بہت  
بر مولانا بدرالدین اصحاق می گفت - بر سر ہم اعتراض می گوید  
جمع کردہ مولانا بدرالدین اصحاق نیست "

(I saw in Ajodhan a *malfūz* of Shaiḫ Farid-u'd-dīn, (the compilation of which) is attributed to Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq. It is altogether a fabrication. It is said that it was not compiled by Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq) *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilām*, p. 134

It is futile, after this observation, to bestow any care on the *Asār-u'l-Auliya'*

(4) Shāh 'Abd-ul 'Azīz, the famous *Muḥaddith* of Dehli, considered this literature unreliable. It is recorded in his conversations

"کتاب فوائد افراد نہایت معتبر است مگر دیگر ملفوظات مشہور است "

(The book *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ad* is very reliable but other *malfūzāt* are doubtful) *Malfūzāt-i-'Azīz*, p. 81

Apart from this external evidence, we have sufficient reason to reject this literature as fake on the basis of strong internal evidence. Let us examine each work separately -

(A) *The Fawā'id-u's-Salāḫin* (i) The conversations are recorded for five days in 584 A.H. (1186 A.D.) The date is absurd. (ii) Bābā Farid is made to refer to himself as Mas'ūm Ajodhani. This too is absurd. He did not settle at Ajodhan till years afterwards. (iii) Shaiḫ Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī is made to state that when he and Shaiḫ Hamīd were circumambulating the Ka'bah they met a slave of Khwāja Abū Bakr Ḥabībī. A slave of Shaiḫ Ḥabībī would have had to be about 250 or 300 years old at the time of Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn. (iv) Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Ilutmaḡh is made to attack the territory of Rai Pithaura and take him alive. (v) We know on the authority of *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ad* that Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn died owing to the effects of *Soma'* (mystic music). Here the Shaiḫ is made to survive the emotional strain after enjoying it for seven days.

(B) *The Asār-u'l-Auliya'* (i) The conversations cover the period from 1233 A.D. to 1246 A.D. Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq had not yet met Shaiḫ Farid-u'd-dīn. (ii) The *malfūz* is a monologue. The audience sits like blocks of stone. Genuine *malfūzāt* like the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ad* and the *Asār-u'l-Majālis* give the impression of a living and breathing audience. The discussions of the saints are broken and punctuated by intelligent

questions of the audience. In the *Asrār-u'l-Auliya* all the telling is done by the Shaikh and when he finishes the discourse the audience disperses. (iii) Bābā Farīd met Shaikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn Tabrizī in Kahtwāl. In this *maifūz* the Shaikh meets Shaikh Tabrizī in Baghdād. (iv) In a book finished in 1246 A D Bābā Farīd is made to refer to his younger brother as "This well-wisher had a brother, named Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil." Shaikh Najīb died only a few months before the death of Bābā Farīd. (v) We know definitely that Bābā Farīd never visited Badā'ūn But here he is taken to Badā'ūn and made to bless the boy, Shaikh 'Usūfī, who later on became the teacher of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya (vi) Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī and Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya are brought face to face in an audience of Bābā Farīd Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī died long before Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya joined the discipline of Bābā Farīd

(C) *The Rāhat-u'l-Qulūb*, (i) We know from other contemporary works that Bābā Farīd gave his *Khilāfat Nāmah* to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya when the latter visited him for the last time. In this *maifūz*, the saint is made to promise the kingdom of Hindustān to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn in the very first meeting (ii) Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī and Qāḍī Hamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgawī are made to attend some meetings of the Shaikh at Ajodhan in the presence of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya Both of them had expired long before Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya reached Ajodhan and joined the discipline of Shaikh Farīd (iii) Bābā Farīd is made to meet a pupil of Shaikh Dhun-nūn-al Mīṣrī in Badakhshān. (iv) In the conversation of the years 1257-58 Bābā Farīd is made to describe the death of Si ḥr Khān who expired in 1264 A D., the death of Shaikh Rahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā who died in 1263, Shaikh Saif-u'd-dīn Bākhharzī who died in 1259-60

## APPENDIX C

### Baba Farid and the Guru Granth

The Gurū Granth, compiled by Gurū Arjun in 1604 A. D., has a chapter entitled "*Salok Shaikh Farid ke*" which contains 112 *Shalokas* of Shaikh Farid. The authorship of these *Shalokas* is a moot point. Some scholars hold the view that Shaikh Farid-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar is their real author. Others think it improbable and ascribe them to Shaikh Ibrāhīm, who was a descendant of the great saint and had met and conversed with Gurū Nānak. There are others who consider that the compositions of these two saints have been mixed up in these *Shalokas*.

That Bāba Farid had a taste for poetry and that he could compose verses is beyond doubt. Thus, too, is incontrovertible that he must have used the local dialects in conversing with the people living around him. A couplet composed by the Shaikh in the local dialect of Multān has also been quoted by Amir Khurī (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 367). But we do not come across a single reference in the contemporary works to his having left such a large number of *Shalokas*. Shaikh Nivām-u'd-dīn Auliya and his successors have given interesting details about the Shaikh, his literary tastes, his daily life, etc. Had it really been a work of the great saint they could not possibly have ignored it. It is, therefore, futile to attempt a decision on the basis of the external evidence. The matter must be considered in the light of internal evidence.

These *Shalokas* are in the *Multānī* language, but they contain a number of Arabic and Persian words e.g. گریبان (collar), لطیف (nice, dainty), عقل (wisdom), درویشی (sainthood), پل صراط (The bridge over the eternal fire across which the Muslims believe they shall pass into Paradise), صبح (morning), صوف (wool), صفا (prayer carpet), عمل (action), حان (station), سلطان (king), پروردگار (Satan, Devil), رب (Nourisher), روح (soul), دیدار (vision), محبت (love), ملک الموت (Izrael, the angel of death), دورخ (Hell), دوزخ (Hell), سنه (age), سنه (turn).

The burthen of these *Shalokas* is Divine Love, need for the purification of inner life, value of penitences in spiritual progress, the ephemeral character of the human existence and other similar subjects. Striking metaphors and similes, mostly borrowed from the atmosphere around, add to the effect of these *Shalokas*. They seem to be the gushes of a heart overflowing with Divine Love. They emphasize the ascetic aspect of spiritual discipline. Taken as a whole, the picture of Shaikh



Farid that will emerge from these *Shalokas* will be more akin to the Shaikh Farid of the fabricated *maifūzāt*

Linguistic analysis of these *Shalokas* reveals that they contain idioms and expressions of a much later date. The *nome de plume* used in these *Shalokas* is Farid, but the Shaikh used to refer to himself as Mas'ūd, not as Farid.

That these *Shalokas* are not the actual compositions of the great saint seems almost certain, but the fact cannot be denied that they contain some traditional sayings of the Shaikh and refer to some of the popularly accepted and circulated incidents about his penitences. *Shalokas* number 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 33, 37, 39, 41, 43, 44, 47, 50, 51, 54, 61, 70, 71, 72, 73, 84, 89, 90, 91, 99, 101, 102, 103, 111, 112, and 116 refer to views and incidents which may, to some extent, be considered with reference to Shaikh Farid's teachings and the traditions about his penitences.

Shaikh Ibrāhīm, a contemporary of Gurū Nānak, is probably the real author of these *Shalokas* and he has expressed in his own words some of the sayings of his great master.

## APPENDIX D

### Sajjadah Nashins of Baha Farid's Khanqah

1. Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Sulaimān
2. Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-din
3. Shaikh Mu'iz-u'd-din
4. Shaikh Fadl
5. Shaikh Munawwar
6. Shaikh Nūr-u'd-din
7. Shaikh Bahā-u'd-din
8. Shaikh Muḥammad
9. Shaikh Ahmad
10. Shaikh 'Atā-u'llah
11. Shaikh Muḥammad
12. Shaikh Ibrāhīm
13. Shaikh Tāj-u'd-din Maḥmūd
14. Shaikh Faḍl-u'llah
15. Shaikh Ibrāhīm
16. Shaikh Muḥammad
17. Shaikh Muḥammad Ashraf
18. Shaikh Muḥammad Sa'id
19. Shaikh Muḥammad Yūsuf
20. Shaikh 'Abd-u's-Subḥān
21. Shaikh Ghulām Rasūl
22. Shaikh Muḥamad Yār
23. Shaikh Sharf-u'd-din
24. Shaikh Allah Jawāyā
25. Shaikh Sharf-u'd-din.

## APPENDIX E

### The Bihisht Darwazah (Door of Paradise)

Captain C M Wade writes —

" There are two doors to this apartment (in which the saint lies buried), one to the north and one to the east. That to the east, called the " Door of Paradise," is never opened but on the fifth day of the sacred Moharram, when numbers of pilgrims, both Hindus and Muslims, come to visit the shrine, and all who pass through this door-way are considered saved from the fines of perdition. The door-way is about two feet wide, and cannot be passed without stooping, and the apartment itself is not capable of containing thirty people crowded together yet such is the care which the saint takes of his votaries on these occasions, that no accident or loss of life has ever been known to occur. A superlative heaven is allotted to those who are first to enter the tomb on the day mentioned. The rush of precedence may, therefore, be better imagined than described. The crowd of pilgrims is said to be immense, and as they egress from the sacred door-way, after having rubbed their foreheads on the foot of the saint's grave, the air resounds with the shouts of FARID! FARID!" *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, March 1837, p. 192

It is very difficult to trace the growth of this legend. No contemporary, or even later, writer has referred to the Bihisht Darwazah.

## APPENDIX F

### Bibliography

#### A.—Early Authorities

##### *Aḥsan-u'l-Aqwāl*

Conversations of Shaiḥ Burhān-u'd-dīn Qharīb, compiled by Hammād b.n 'Imād Kāghānī in 738 A H /1337 A D (MS). For an account of its contents see *The Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol III, Part I, K. A. Nizami's article *A Note on Aḥsan-ul-Aqwāl*, pp 40-41

##### *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*

Abu'l-Faḍl 'Allāmi

Edited by Sayyid Aḥmad Khān Translated into English by H. Blochmann and Jarrett (Bib Indica, Calcutta, 1894).

##### *Akhhār-u'l-Aḥyā*

Shaiḥ 'Abd-u'l-Haqq Muhaddith Dehlawī  
(Muṭṭabā'ī Press, Dehli 1309 A H)

##### *Akhhār-u'l-Aḥyā*

'Abd u's-Samad bin Aṭṭal Muḥammad  
completed in 1015 A H /1606-7 A D (MS)

##### *Anwār-u'l-'Arṣīn*

Hāfiz Muḥammad Husain Moradabādī  
(Newal Kishore, Lucknow, 1876 A D.)

##### *Asrār-u'l-'Auliyā*

Alleged to be the conversations of Shaiḥ Farīd, compiled by Shaiḥ Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq  
(Newal Kishore Lucknow)

##### *Asrār-u's-Tauḥīd fī Maqāmāt-i-'Abī Sa'īd*

Muḥammad b. Munawwar  
Edited by Aḥmad Bahmanyāi (Tehrān 1934).

##### *'Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*

Shaiḥ Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī  
Arabic text (Cairo) Urdu Translation by Maulvi Abul Hasan  
(Newal Kishore, Lucknow, 1926)

##### *Bahjat-u'l-Asrār wa ma'dīn-u'l-Anwār*

Nūr-u'd-dīn Shaiḥ Ṭanawfī  
(Cairo, 1304 A H /1887 A D)

##### *Dibāchah Diwān Ghurraī-u'l-Kamāl*

Amīr Khusrāw  
(Published by Maulvi Sayyid Yāsīn 'Alī, Dehli).

***Diwān-i-Amir Husayn***

(Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1288 A H)

***Diwān-i-Hasan Dehlawi***

Edited by Mas'ūd 'Alī Maḥwī

(Ibrāhīmīyah Machine Press, Hyderabad, 1352 A.H.).

***Diwān-i-Jamāl-u'd-dīn Hāuswī***

Printed by Pirjī Rafī u'd-dīn, Tehsildar Dehli

(Chaghmah-i-Faīd Press, Dehli 1889 A D)

***Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd***Conversations of Shaiḫh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya, compiled by  
Amir Hasan Sijzi

(Newal Kishore, Lucknow, 1302 A H /1884 A D)

***Fawā'id-u's-Salāḳin***Alleged to be the conversations of Shaiḫh Quṭb-u'd-dīn  
Bakhtiyār Kāki, compiled by Shaiḫh Farīd.

(Newal Kishore, Lucknow)

***Futūḥ-u'l-Ghasb***Shaiḫh 'Abd-u'l-Qādir Gilāni

(Cairo 1304 A H)

***Futūḥ-u's-Salāḳin***

'Isāmī

Edited by A M Husain (Agra 1938)

Edited by M. Uḡha' (Madras 1948)

***Gulzār-i-Abrār***

Muḥammad Ghauthi Shattāri

(MS) Urdu Translation *Adkhkār-u'l-Abrār*, by Maulī Faḍl Aḥmad

(Agra 1326 A H)

***Ḥabīb-u's-Siyar***Ḥayyāth-u'd-dīn bin Humam-u'd-dīn alias Khwandamir

(Bombay 1857)

***Hujat-u'llah-il-Ralighah***Shāh Wali-ullah Dehlawi

(Lahore 1323 A.H)

***Ighbās-u'l-Anwār***

Muḥammad Akram Barāsaḥī

Edition Lahore 1895 (MS in personal collection).

***Jawāna'-u'l-Kilām***

Conversations of Sayyid Muḥammad Ghalī Derīz, compiled by

Sayyid Muḥammad Akbar Husaini

(Intizāmī Press, Hyderabad).

*Jawāhir-i-Fariḍ*

‘Alli Asghar Chughṭī

Persian Text, Lahore (1301 A.H./1884 A.D.)

MS in personal collection.

Urdu Translation (Lahore)

*Kashf-u’l-Maḥjūb*.

Shaiḫ ‘Alli Hujwerī, popularly known as Dātta Ganj Bakḥḥ

Persian text printed at Gulzār-i-Hind Steam Press, Lahore.

English Translation by R. A. Nicholson (London 1936)

*Khair-u’l-Majālis*.

Conversations of Shaiḫ Naṣir-u’-d-dīn Chirāgh-i Dehli, compiled by Maulānā Hamīd Qalandar

Edited by K. A. Nizāmī (Muslim University, Aligarh).

*Khazinat-u’l-Aṣfiyā*.

Hāfiz Ghulām Sarwar

(Thamar-i Hind Press, Lucknow, 1872 A.D.)

*Emulṣat-u’l-Tawārīkh*

Sujan Rai Bhandāri

Edited by K. B. Zafar Hasan.

(J &amp; Sons Press, Dehli, 1918 A.D.).

*Kimīyā-i-Sa’ādāt*

Imām Ghazzālī

(Lucknow 1907).

*Lafā’if-i-Aṣḥrafī*

Maulānā Nizām-u’-d-dīn Yemenī

(Nuṣrat-u’l-Matāba’, Dehli, 1295 A.H.)

*Lawā’ih*

Maulānā ‘Abd-u’-r-Rahmān Jāmī

Translated by E. H. Whinfield and Mirzā Muḥammad Qazwīnī,

(Oriental Translation Fund Series, Royal Asiatic Society,

1928 A.D.)

*Ma’ārif-u’l-Wilāyat*

Ghulām Muḥin-u’-d-dīn ‘Abd-u’l-lah known as Khālifa Khwārahgī

Chughṭī (Two Volumes—MS in personal collection)

*Majālis-u’l-Ushāḥiq*

Sultān Husaīn Mirzā

(Newal Kishore, 1897 A.D.)

*Majma’-u’l-Auliya*

Mir ‘Alli Akbar Ardistānī

compiled in 1043 A.H./1633 A.D. (MS)

*Majma’-ah-i-Malfūzāt-i-Ḥwājgān-i-Chiḡh*.

Translated by Maulānā Ghulām Aḥmad Bīryan

(Muslim Press, Dehli, 1348 A.H.).

***Malfūzāt-i-Shāh 'Abd-u'l 'Asīs***

Edited by Qāḍī Baḥr-u'd-dīn  
(Muṭtabā'ī Press, Meerut, 1314 A.H.).

***Manāqib-u'l-Maḥbūbīn***

Maulānā Najm-u'd-dīn  
(Thamar-i-Hind Press, Lucknow, 1873 A.D.)

***Maṭlūb-u'l-Tālibīn***

Sayyid Muḥammad Bulāq Chughtī  
(MS in personal Collection)

***Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār***

Maulānā 'Abd-u'r-Raḥmān b. 'Abd-u'r-Rasul Chughtī  
(MS in personal collection)

***Misbāḥ-u'l-Hidāyah-wa-Misfāḥ-u'l-Kifāyah***

Maulānā 'Izz-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd bin 'Alī Kāghānī  
Edited by Aghā Jalāl Humā'ī (Tehran)

***Muḥ'-u'l-Ma'ānī***

Amīr Hasan Sujā  
(MS in the Aligarh Muslim University Library)

***Mulhamāt***

Shaiḫ Jamāl-u'd-dīn Hānsavī  
(Yusufi Press, Alwar 1306 A.H.)

***Muntakhāb-u'l-Tawarīkh***

'Abd-u'l-Qādir Badā'ūnī  
Edited by W. N. Lees, Maulvī Kabīr-u'd-dīn Aḥmad and  
Maulvī Aḥmad 'Alī  
(Bib. Indica Calcutta, 1869 A.D.)

***Mu'nis-u'l-Arwāḥ***

Jahān Arā Begum  
Completed in 1049 A.H. /1640 A.D. (MS in personal collection)

***Nafahāt-u'l-Uns***

Maulānā 'Abd-u'r-Raḥmān Jāmī  
(Bombay 1284 A.H.)

***Qaul-u'l-Jamīl***

Shāh Wali-u'llah Dehlawī  
(Maṭba'at-i-Nizāmī, Kanpūr 1291 A.H.).

***Rābat-u'l-Qulūb***

Alleged to be the conversations of Shaiḫ Farid, compiled by  
Shaiḫ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya.  
(Newal Kishore, Lucknow).

***Rawḍāt-i-Aqṣā***

Sayyid Muḥammad Bulāq Chughtī  
(Published by Churāngī Lal, Muḥib-i-Hind Press, Dehli).

**Risālat Ibn Baṭṭūṭā :**

Arabic Text : Cairo 1908 A.D.

Urdu Translation by K. B. Muḥammad Ḥusain (Dehli 1345 A.H.).

Abridged English Translation by H. A. R. Gibb (London 1929 A.D.).

Translation Vol. II. A. M. Husain (Baroda 1953).

**Risālah Ḥāl Ḥadīṣ al-Chishtī :**

Maulānā Tāj-u'd dīn, a descendant of Maulānā Shihāb-u'd-dīn Imām.

(MS dated 1108 A.H. in personal collection).

**Risālah-i-Maṭālib-fī-Tahqīq-i-Maṭbūb :**

Muḥammad Amīr Māh

(MS in personal collection).

**Saba' Sanābi :**

'Abd-u'l-Wāḥid Ibrāhīm

(Nizāmi Press, Kanpur 1299 A.H.).

**Safinat-u'l-Ashyā :**

Dārā Shukoh

(MS in personal collection).

**Shajarat-u'l-Anwār :**

Maulānā Raḥīm Bakḥsh Fakḥrī

(MS in personal collection).

**Shahashubhodaya**

Sanskrit text edited by S. Sen (Calcutta).

**Sirat-i-Firās Shāhī.**

Author Unknown

Compiled in 772 A.H. (Copy of Rānkipur MS in Muslim University Library)

**Siyar-u'l-Aqḍā**

Allāh Diyāh Chughtī

(Newal Kuthore, 1913).

**Siyar-u'l-Arifīn.**

Maulānā Faḍl-u'llāh known as Durwesh Jamālī

Edition : Ridwi Press, Dehli 1311 A.H.

MS : Undated (personal collection).

**Siyar-u'l-Ashyā**

Sayyid Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī known as Amīr Ḥusn

(Published by Chirangi Lāl, Muḥibb-i-Hind Press, Dehli 1302 A.H.).

**Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī :**

Minhāj-u's-Sirāj Jurjānī

Edited by Nassau Lees, Khāḍim Huṣṣin and 'Abd-u'l-Ḥayy  
(Bib. Indica 1864).

English Translation by H. G. Raverty. (Bib. Indica 1897).



*Tahmilah Siyar-u'l-Auliya* :

Khwāja Gul Muhammad Ahmadpuri

Edition : Ridwi Press, Dehli, 1312 A.H.

MS: personal collection.

*Tārīkh-i-Āl-i-Subukhāgin* :

Abu'l-Faḍl Baiḥāqī

Vol. I edited by Dr. Ghani.

Vol. II edited by Aghā Sa'id Naficy, (Tehrān).

*Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* :

Dū-u'd-dīn Barani

Edited by Sayyid Ahmad Khān, (Bib. Indica Calcutta 1862).

*Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* :

Shams-i-Sirāj 'Aḥfī

Edited by Maulvi Wilāyat Husain, (Bib. Indica Calcutta 1890).

*Tārīkh-i-Guzidah* :

Hamd-u'llah Muṣṭawfī

Edited by E G Browne, (Gibb Memorial Series, London 1913).

*Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi*

Muḥammad Bihāmid Khān

(Rotograph of the MS in the British Museum). ff 144-146

*Tusuh-i-Babāri* :

English Translation by J. Leyden and W. Erskine, revised by Sir L. King

*Tusuh-i-Jahāngiri*

Edited by Sayyid Ahmad Khān (Aligarh)

*Zuhdat-u'l-Maḳāmāt*

Khwāja Muḥammad Hāshim Badakhshānī

(Newal Kishore Press, Kānpūr 1890 A.D.).

**B.—Modern Works :***Afghanistan and its Late Amir* :

Published by the Christian Literature Society for India (London &amp; Madras 1902.).

*Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India* :

Edited by Surendranath Majumdar Sastri, (Calcutta 1924).

*Elliot & Dowson's History of India* :

Vol. II, Revised Edition by Mohd. Ḥabīb, S. A. Raghib and K. A. Nizāmi. (Aligarh 1952).

*Foundation of Muslim Rule in India* :

Dr. A. B. M. Ḥabīb-u'llah

(Sh : Mohd. Ashraf, Lahore, 1945).

*Madat Amir Husen of Delhi* :

Professor Muḥammad Ḥabīb

(Taraporevala Sons &amp; Co., Bombay, 1927).

*Hayāt-i-'Abd-u'l-Haqq Muhaddith Dablawī :*

K. A. Nizāmi

(Nadwat-u'l-Muṣannifin, Dehli, 1954).

*Hindu Castes and Sects :*

Jogendra Nath Bhattacharya

(Calcutta 1896).

*History of the Arabs :*

P. K. Hitti.

(Macmillan & Co. London, 1951).

*Ilān-i-Siyadat-i-Farīdī :*

Sayyid Raghib Ahmad Ridwī

(Ridwī Press, Amroha 1332 A.H.).

*Lands of the Eastern Caliphate :*

Le Strange

(Cambridge, 1930).

*Memoirs on the History, Folk-Lore and Distribution of the Races  
of the North-Western Provinces of India :*

Sir H. Elliot

(London 1869).

*Persian Literature :*

C. A. Storey

Vol. I, Part 2.

(London 1953).

*Punjab Castes*

Sir Denzil Ibbetson

(Lahore 1916)

*Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan :*

Morgenstern

(Stockholm, 1935)

*Sirāj-u'n-Nasab*

Muhammad Sirāj-u'l-Haqq

(Dā-i-Islām Press, Qādeyān, 1313 A.H.).

*Tārīkh-i-Maghāzikh-i-Chīzī*

K. A. Nizāmi

(Nadwat-u'l-Muṣannifin, Dehli, 1954).

*Tārīkh-i-Taṣawwuf dar Islām*

Dr. Qāsim Ghani

(Tehrān).

*The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature :*

M. G. Zubair Ahmad

(Dikshit Press, Allahabad).

*The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush :*

Sir George Scott Robertson

(London 1900).

*The Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh :*

David Ross

(London 1883).

*The Mujaddid's Conception of Tauhid :*

Dr. Burhān Ahmad Fāriqī

(Sh. Mohd. Aghraf, Lahore 1940).

*The Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India :*

J. C. Oman

*The Sūfi's Work in the Early Development of Urdu Language :*

Dr. Maulvi 'Abd-ul Haqq

(Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, Delhi, 1939).

**C.—Gazetteers and Reports etc.***Punjab District Gazetteers*

Vol. XVIII B. Montgomery District Statistical Tables (Lahore 1913).

Vol. XVI B. Farkot State and Ferozepore District (Lahore 1913).

*Report on a Tour in the Punjab 1878-79.*

Alexander Cunningham, Vol. XIV.

(Archaeological Survey of India, Calcutta, 1882).

*The Jhang Settlement Report*

Steedman

**D.—Journals etc.***Indian Antiquary* Vol. XLI.*Islamic Culture* Vol XX No 2, (April 1946).*The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*

Vol VI 1837—

Journal of Captain C. M. Wade's voyage from Lodiana to Mithankot by the river Satlaj, on his Mission to Lahor and Bahawalpur in 1832-33. By Lt F Mackeson (pp. 169-217).

Vol. VII 1838—

On the Siah-posh Kaffirs with specimens of their language and costume. By Capt. Alexander Burnes (pp. 325-333).

*The Oriental College Magazine :*

1938-1938 articles on Bābā Farid and Guru Granth.

Vols. XIV/2 (Feb. 1938) pp. 75-81, XIV/3 (May 1938) pp. 25-37;

XIV/4 (Aug. 1938) pp. 88-90, XV/1 (Nov. 1938) pp. 67-84;

XV/2 (Feb. 1939) pp. 44-71, articles on Bābā Farid Ganj-i-Shahar, Shaikh Ibrahim aw Farid-i-Thani by Mohan Singh Diwana.

Vol. XVII/2 (Feb. 1941) pp. 118-27, article on Nasir-ud-din-i-

Bahar Bābā Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shahar by Baldev Singh.

*The Ency. of Islam :*

Leyden 1913-34.

*Vidyapith Commemoration Volume :*

Article on "Early Islamic Mysticism" by Prof. Muhammad Habib.

## INDEX

### A

'Abd-u'l Hamid (Shaikh) 60.  
 'Abd-u'l Haqq (Dr. Maulvi) 85, 106.  
 'Abd-u'l Haqq Muhaddith Dehlawi (Shaikh) 6, 31n, 61n  
 'Abd-u'llah (Shaikh) 12.  
 'Abd-u'l-Qādir Gilāni (Shaikh) 19.  
 'Abd-u'l-Wāhid Ibrāhīm (Shaikh) 86.  
 'Abd-u'llah Wāz-a'l-Asghar (Shaikh) 12.  
 'Abd-u'r-Rahmān Chughti (Maulānā) 7, 64n.  
 'Abd-u's-Samad bin Afdāl Muhammad 7.  
 'Abd-u's-Subbān (Shaikh) 123  
 'Abū Bakr 73  
 Abū Bakr Muhammad bin Ibrāhīm Bukhārī 77n  
 Abū Bakr Shilūl (Khawāja) 119.  
 Abū Hafs (Maulānā) 19.  
 Abū'l Faḍl 7, 29n  
 Abū'l Farj Rūnī 13  
 Abū'l-Haṣṣh Yemenī (Shaikh) 56n  
 Abū'l-Mughith al-Husain bin Mansūr al-Hallāj, 19n.  
 Abū'l Qāsim 'Abd-u'l Karīm Qushairī 77n.  
 Abū'l Qāsim b. Muhammad b. Junaid 77n.  
 Abū Sa'īd Abū'l Khair (Shaikh) 25, 92.  
 Abū Sa'īd Tabrīzī (Shaikh) 15n.  
 Abū Shakūr 96.  
 Abū Tālib Maḥdī (Maulānā) 77n.  
 Adhahā 107.  
 Adherbeizān, 6.

Afghānistān 106n.

*Afghānistān and Its Late Amir* 106n.

Aghā Jalāl-u'd-dīn Humā'ī 82n.  
 Agrā 7n 8.

Ahmad (Shaikh) 123

Ahmad 'Abd-u'l Haqq (Shaikh) 78.

Ahmad 'Abd-u'l Haqq Rudaulwī 7n.

Ahmad Bahmanyār 91n.

Ahmad Shāh, 106n

Ahmad Sarhundi (Shaikh) 12n.

Ahmad Siwistāni (Khawāja) 43.

*Al-San-u'l-Aqwāl* 103, 106, 107n.

Aibek 31.

*Al'in-i-Akbari* 9, 72n, 40n.

'Ain-u'l-Qudāt Hamadāni 77n.

Ajmer 14, 21, 29, 111.

Ajodhan, 1, 11, 26, 28, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 52n, 57, 58, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 80, 82, 96, 97, 101, 106n, 110, 112, 113, 116, 119, 120.

Akbar, 8n.

*Al-Akbar-u'l-Akhyār* 5n, 6, 7, 15, 17n, 18n, 20, 22n, 23n, 31n, 36n, 37n, 41n, 42n, 57n, 59n, 60n, 61n, 62n, 64n, 67n, 68n, 70n, 72n, 78n, 117.

*Al-Akbar-u'l-Afḥyā* 7.

Alī Mubārak (Shaikh) 43.

'Alam-u'd-dīn (Shaikh), 63.

'Alā-u'd-dīn 40, 76, 123.

'Alā-u'd-dīn Ajodhani (Shaikh) 117.

'Alā-u'd-dīn 'Alī Ahmad Shāh of Kātyar (Shaikh) 67n, 78.

'Alā-u'd-dīn Ghori 108.  
 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khalji (Sultān) 61, 64n.  
 'Alā-u'd-dīn Kirmānī 17.  
 'Alā-u'd-dīn (Shaiḥ) 61, 62  
 Albairuni 13.  
 Alexander Burnes 106n.  
 Al-Faṣṣ-u'r-Rabḍat 19n.  
 'Alī Akbar Ḥusamī Ardistanī (Mir) 7.  
 'Alī b. Ahmad al-Mahā'imi (Shaiḥ) 82n.  
 'Alī Asghar Chughtī 7, 8, 24n, 26, 29, 59, 60, 86n, 102, 103  
 'Alī Bihārī, 44, 68  
 'Alī Hujwiri (Shaiḥ) 13, 77n  
 'Alī Kirmānī (Maulānā) 22n.  
 'Alī Lābiqq (Shaiḥ) 67n, 68.  
 'Alī Sābur (Shaiḥ) 67  
 'Alī (Shaiḥ) 27n.  
 'Alī Shakaḥbār (Shaiḥ) 67.  
 'Alī Shakar-raiz, 67.  
 'Alī Sher (Shaiḥ) 60.  
 Allahabad 23n, 108.  
 Allah Diyah Chughtī, 7, 8, 21n, 22n, 29, 67, 111n.  
 Allah Jawāyā (Shaiḥ), 123  
 Alwar (Yusufi Press) 70n.  
 Amīr 'Abd-u'r-Rahmān, 106n  
 Amīr Ḥasan Sijālī 1, 5, 29, 34n, 38n, 77, 112, 118.  
 Amīr Ḥusraw 3, 13n, 61  
 Amīr Khurd 1, 6, 10n, 11, 16n, 17, 22n, 25n, 26n, 29, 31n, 34r, 36n, 42n, 43, 53, 56n, 58, 59n, 59n, 61, 63, 64, 67, 68, 72n, 84, 87, 95, 98, 121  
 Amrehs (Ridwi Press) 12n.  
 Andān 19n.  
 Ancient Bagtria 106n.  
 Ancient Geography of India 36n.  
 Anwār-u'l-'Arifīn 9.  
 'Aqīd-i-Ḥalī 83n.  
 'Arīf (Shaiḥ) 67, 78.  
 Aryavarta 1.  
 Asāḍiyah (Library) 7n.

Asiatic Society of Bengal (Library) 7n.

Aswār-u'l-'Arifīn 83n.  
 Aswār-u'l-'Auliyā, 29n, 87, 118, 119, 120  
 Aswār-u'l-Tauḥīd-fi Maqāmāt-i-Shaiḥ Abī Sa'īd 25n, 92n.  
 'Atā-u'llah (Shaiḥ) 123  
 Athār-i-Auliyā 83n  
 Athār-i-Taba'in 83n.  
 Augar Jogī 105n  
 Aubad-u'd-dīn Kirmānī (Shaiḥ) 20, 29.  
 Aurād-i-Chahāyah, 7n.  
 Aurād-i-Shaiḥ Uḥmān Harvanī 83n.  
 Aush 16, 19.  
 'Awad 73  
 Awadh 5n, 118  
 'Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif 19n, 60, 75, 77, 82, 83, 96  
 'Aziz-u'd-dīn (Shaiḥ) 65, 72n  
 'Aziz-u'd-dīn (Khawāja) 64, 65  
 'Aziz-u'd-dīn Sūfi (Khawāja) 65.

## B

Bābur 19n  
 Badakhshān 29, 120.  
 Badā'ūn 14, 47, 71n, 73, 120.  
 Badā'ūm 110n  
 Badr-u'd-dīn (Maulānā) 43.  
 Badr-u'd-dīn Ḥaznawī (Shaiḥ) 22, 30n, 33, 34, 35, 41n, 71n, 111, 120.  
 Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq (Shaiḥ) 4, 42, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 52, 54, 66, 67, 72, 74, 79, 81, 82, 94, 95, 96n, 97, 102, 118, 119.  
 Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān (Shaiḥ) 44, 59, 60, 61, 63, 72, 123.  
 Baghdad 19, 20, 29, 120.  
 Bahā-u'd-dīn (Shaiḥ) 123.  
 Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā (Shaiḥ) 15n, 17, 38, 54, 55, 56n, 57, 69, 73, 93n, 111, 120.

*Bahjat-u'l-Ashr* 19n.  
 Bahriyân 107.  
 Bahai Lodi (Sultân) 6n.  
 Bahrabâd 56n.  
 Bahrâ'ih 14.  
 Bahrâm Shâh 10n.  
 Baurâm Khân 6n.  
 Baurâm Khân Khân-i-Khânân 116  
 Bâkhaz 57n.  
 Bakkan 107.  
 Balarwan 13.  
 Balban (Sultân) 1, 47n, 51, 57n,  
 60n, 63, 100, 101, 102, 103, 114.  
 Balh 30.  
 Bânkipur (Library) 7n, 82n.  
 Barâbanki 78  
 Barani (Dîa-u'd-dîn) 2, 5n, 9, 14n,  
 34, 60n, 61, 72, 75, 101n  
 Barthold 10n.  
 Bâyezid (Shaikh) 59, 77.  
 Bâyezid Taifûr Bustâmi 77n  
 Bengal 15n 60  
 Bhattacharaya 105n.  
 Bibi Fâtumah 59 66, 71, 72.  
 Bibi Mastûrah 59, 65.  
 Bibi Râni 47.  
 Bibi Sharifah 59, 65  
 Bihâr 8n, 60.  
 Bihishtî Darwâzah 124.  
 Bulgrâm 67n, 95.  
 British Museum 7n.  
 Bughrâ Khân 51.  
 Buhâr 111  
 Bukhâra 29, 30, 57n, 82.  
 Burhân Ahmad Fârûqî 19n.  
 Burhân-u'd-dîn (Maulânâ) 70.  
 Burhân-u'd-dîn Sharb (Maulânâ)  
 68n, 106.

## C

Cairo 190, 36n, 77n, 82n.  
 Carlyle 2.  
 Carnathians 13.  
 Chahûtrah-i-Yârân 65.  
 Chaddars 108.

Chaghtâ'i, A. 9n.  
 Chandwar 60.  
 Chahmah-i-Faṣṣ Press, Dehli 70n.  
 Chauhans 31.  
 Chengiz Khân 10n.  
 Churangî Lâl 6n.  
 Chughtî 4, 5, 9, 54, 65, 69n, 70n,  
 74, 75, 91n, 92, 118.  
 Chughtî Sulah 6, 7n, 49, 72, 78,  
 96, 100, 107, 112.  
 Christian Literature Society for  
 India 106n.  
 Chunab 108.  
 Central Asia 1  
*Contributions of India to Arabic*  
*Literature* 70n  
 Cunningham (General) 11n, 36n.

## D

*Dal-i-Insânî* 83n  
 Damyak 1  
 Daranagar 108  
 Darâ Ghukoh 7.  
 Darshanas 105n.  
 Darwâzah-i-Mandah 71  
 Dâi Ganj Baksh 13n.  
 Dâ'ud 95  
 Dâ'ud Pâlahi (Maulânâ) 67, 68n.  
 David Ross 110n.  
 Dehli 1, 2, 5n, 6, 11n, 14, 15,  
 17, 20, 21, 22n, 23, 24n, 25,  
 26, 30n, 31n, 33, 34, 35, 41, 43,  
 44, 47, 50, 57, 60, 63, 66, 68n,  
 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 81, 82, 94n,  
 96, 97, 98, 101, 111, 112n, 114,  
 119.  
 Deogir 64, 65, 68n.  
 Dera Shâm Khân 36  
 Dera Ismail Khân 36.  
 Dhabab 19n.  
 Dhar 59.  
*Dhawriy-u'l-Ladîf fî Sharḥ*  
*'Awḍiy-u'l-Ma'arîf* 82n.  
*Dhū-nūn-al-Mîrî (Shâh)* 120  
 Dhudhiyân 107.

Dhudi Mussalmāns 108n.  
 Dhudīs 108.  
 Dīd-u'd-dīn (Maulānā) 81.  
 Dīd-u'l-Islām Press, Qādiyān 70n.  
 Dipalpur 62, 72.  
 Diwān Allah Jawāyā Šāhib 8n  
*Diwān-i-Amīr Khusrāw* 114n.  
 Doab 31n, 60.  
 Dost Muḥammad 106n.  
*Durār-i-Nisāmīyah* 72n.

## E

*Early Indo-Muslim Mystics and  
 Their Attitude towards the State*  
 100n  
*Early Islamic mysticism (Vidyā-  
 pātha Commemoration Volume)*  
 81n.  
*Elliot and Dowson's History of  
 India* 13n  
*Ency. of Islam* 110n.  
 Etah 40n

## F

Faḍl (Shaiḥ) 123  
 Faḍl-u'llah (Shaiḥ) 123.  
 Fakhr-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd 12.  
 Fakhr-u'd-dīn Šafāhānī (Maulānā)  
 67, 94n, 95  
 Farghānāh 10n  
 Farid (Shaiḥ or Bābā) or Farid-  
 u'd dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar  
 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10n,  
 11 12, 14n, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19,  
 21, 22, 23, 24n, 25, 26, 27,  
 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35,  
 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44,  
 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53,  
 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61,  
 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69,  
 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77,  
 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85,  
 87, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95,  
 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102,

103, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109,  
 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115,  
 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121,  
 122, 123, 124.  
 Faridkot 110n.  
 Farid-u'd-dīn 'Aṭṭār (Khawāja)  
 111n.  
 Farruḥ Shāh 12.  
 Fārūqī 12n.  
 Fatehpur 60.  
*Fatāwa-i-Kubra* 83n.  
*Fatāwa-i-Zāhiriya* 83n.  
 Fattahpur 108

*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* 1, 3n, 4n, 5,  
 11n, 13n, 15, 21n, 22n, 25,  
 27n, 29, 30n, 31n, 33n, 34n,  
 35n, 36n, 37n, 38n, 40n, 41,  
 42n, 43n, 44n, 45n, 47n, 48n,  
 49n, 50n, 51n, 52n, 53n, 54n,  
 55n, 56n, 57n, 58n, 60n, 68n,  
 69n, 71, 72n, 73n, 74n, 75n, 77,  
 78, 79n, 80n, 82n, 83n, 87,  
 89n, 91n, 92n, 93n, 95n, 96n,  
 101n, 102n, 103, 104n, 105n,  
 106n, 110n, 111n, 112n, 113n,  
 116, 118, 119

*Fawā'id-u'l-Salākin* 26, 118, 119  
 Fiqh 81  
*Firīshah* 9, 10n, 108n, 110n, 117.  
 Firūz Shāh Tughlaq 24n, 58.  
*Futūḥāt-i-Macchia* 20n.  
*Futūḥ-u'l-Ghaib* 10n.  
*Futūḥ-u's-Salāḥin* 5n, 17n, 20n,  
 101n.

## G

Ghakkars 34n.  
 Ghaznī 13.  
 Ghauthī 20n.  
 Ghaznī 10n, 13, 29, 30n, 31.  
 Ghebas 108.  
 Ghew 108.  
 Ghīyāthpur 75.  
 Ghīyāth-u'd-dīn 13.  
*Ghīyāth-u'l-Lughāt* 26n.

**Shahm 'Alī Asid Bilgrāmī** (Maulānā) 68n.

**Shahm Mu'in-u'd-dīn** 7, 34, 64n.

**Shahm Rasūl** (Shāikh) 123.

**Shahm Sarwar Lāhorī** (Maulānā) 9.

**Sharrat-u'l-Kamāl** 13n, 114n.

**Shaz** 10.

**Shān** 6.

**Gujrāt** 6n, 8n, 31n.

**Gulbergah** 23n.

**Gulār-i-Abrār** 7, 11n, 12n, 15n, 17n, 18n, 19n, 20n, 22n, 24n, 29n, 36n, 59n, 60n, 63n, 65n, 67n, 68n, 69n, 70n, 71n, 72n, 82, 111n, 117.

**Gulār-i-Hind** Steam Press, Lahore 77n.

**Gurū Arjun** 121.

**Gurū Granth** 121.

**Gurū Nānak** 121, 122.

## H

**Habīb Ganj** 7n.

**Habīb-u's-Siyar** 57n.

**Hādīth** 98.

**Hāfiz** 82n.

**Hakan** 107.

**Harid** 47.

**Hamid** (Shāikh) 119.

**Hāmid b. Faḍl-u'llāh** (Jamālī) 6.

**Harid Qalandar** 5, 118.

**Harid-u'd-dīn** (Maulānā) 68.

**Hāmid-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī** (Qādī) 4, 17, 18n, 20, 22n.

**Hāmid-u'd-dīn Sawālī Nāgaurī** (Shāikh) 59.

**Hanafi** 31n.

**Hānd** 25, 26, 27n, 31n, 32, 33, 34, 47, 68n, 69.

**Hārūt Nānak** 75n.

**Hārūt-i-Shāikh** 'Abd-u'l-Haqq Muḥaddīth-i-Dahli 6n, 7n.

**Hārūt Amir Khawar of Dahli** 2n.

**Hajāt** 6.

**Herat** 57n.

**Hsien Tsang** 11n.

**Hindu Castes and Sects** 105n.

**Hindūkūḥ** 106n.

**Hindustān** 1, 10n, 63, 77, 107, 108, 120.

**Hind** 31.

**History of the Arabs** 30n.

**Hujjat-u'l-Bah-i-Balighah** 24n.

**Humāyūn** 6n.

**Hunter, W. W.** 36n, 107n.

**Husam Zanjānī** (Shāikh) 13.

**Hussām-u'd-dīn** (Shāikh) 48, 49n, 60.

**Hussām-u'd-dīn Mānikpurī** (Shāikh) 26n.

**Hyderabad (Deccan)** 23n, 63n.

## I

**Ibbetson** 105n, 108n.

**Ibn-i-Battūṭah** 61n, 62n, 110n.

**Ibrāhīm** (Khwāja) 64.

**Ibrāhīm** (Shāikh) 121, 122.

**Ibrāhīm** (Shāikh) 123.

**Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī** (Sultān) 13n.

**Iḥyā-u'l-'Ulūm** 27n, 77, 82n.

**Ikhtisār** 15n, 20, 35, 100, 119.

**Imām Abū Lariḥ Samarqandī** 20.

**Imām Ghazālī** 27, 77n, 82n.

**Imām Nāṣir** 31n.

**Imām Shāf'i** 19.

**Imperial Gazetteer of India** 31n, 36n, 107n.

**Indrapat** 93n.

**India** 5, 6n, 7, 9, 11, 20, 24, 29, 30, 37, 46, 83, 91n, 92, 105, 106n, 119.

**India (Northern)** 1, 14n.

**Indian Antiquary** 31n.

**India Office** 7n.

**Iqbal-u'l-Amr** 7, 9, 24n, 72n,

**Irān** 82n.

**'Irāq** 6.

**'Isā** 40, 43.

**'Isān** 5, 101n.



Ishāq (Shaiḥ) 12.  
 Ishāq b. 'Alī b. Ishāq 98.  
 Islām 3, 19, 20, 30, 64n, 100,  
 107, 108n.  
*Islamic Culture* 5n, 100n, 107n.  
*Islamic Research Association*  
*Miscellany* 70n.  
*I'ylān i-Siyādat-i-Farīdī* 12n.  
 'Izz-u'd-dīn 71n.  
 'Izz-u'd-dīn Mahmūd b. 'Alī  
 Kāghānī (Maulānā) 11, 29, 82n.

## J

Ja'far Sādiq of Gujrat, (Shaiḥ) 8  
 Jahāngīr 7n, 8n.  
 Jalāl (Shaiḥ) 16, 49.  
 Jalāl-u'd-dīn Firūz Shāh Khālī  
 (Sultān) 101n.  
 Jalāl-u'd-dīn Humā'ī 29.  
 Jalāl-u'd-dīn Pānīpatī (Shaiḥ) 8n.  
 Jalāl-u'd-dīn Tabrizī (Shaiḥ) 15,  
 20, 41, 90, 120  
 Jalhora 109  
 Jamāl (Shaiḥ) 68, 69, 70.  
 Jamāl Husainī 47, 48.  
 Jamālī (Maulānā) 17n, 18, 29n,  
 34n, 38n, 71n, 80n, 116  
 Jamāl Kāmil (Shaiḥ) 67.  
 Jamāl-u'd-dīn 32n.  
 Jamāl-u'd-dīn Hānsuī (Shaiḥ)  
 67, 68, 82n, 94, 111.  
 Jamāl-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Bus-  
 tānī 20n  
 Jamāl-u'd-dīn Sulamān 10n, 11.  
*Jāma'-u'l-Hibbīyā* 83n.  
*Jamā'at* (Shaiḥ) 60.  
 J. A. S. B. 106n, 110n, 124.  
 Jatwan 31.  
 Jhampur 60, 108.  
*Jamā'ir i-Farīdī* 7, 8, 12n, 16n,  
 24n, 26, 59, 60n, 65n, 83n,  
 85n, 102, 102n, 103n, 107n.  
 Jawāḥq 93n.  
*Jawāma'-u'l-Kilām* 15n, 16n, 21n,  
 23, 25n, 26n, 41n, 44, 35n, 67n,

68n, 72n, 119.  
 Jhakars 109.  
 Jhakarwalian 107.  
 Jhang 108.  
*Jhang Settlement Report* (Steedman)  
 108n  
 Jhelum 108.  
 Jhunwar 108.  
 Jilla 109.  
 Jogis 105, 106.  
*J. R. A. S.* 106  
 Juma' Masjid 72, 74n, 80n  
 Junaid (Shaiḥ) 77.  
 Jurjān 111.

## K

Kabīr u'd dīn (Khawāja) 65, 72n  
 Kābul 8n, 10, 11, 12n.  
 Kāfirān-i Siyāh Pogh 106.  
 Kāfiristān 106n.  
 Kāfirs 106  
*Kāfirs of the Hindūkuḥ* 106n.  
 Kahtwāl 11, 12, 15, 25, 36, 37,  
 41, 71n, 120  
 Kairāna 8n.  
 Kalyar 69n, 78.  
 Kamāl u'd dīn (Shaiḥ) 59, 60,  
 64n, 72n.  
 Kanphatta Jogis 105n  
 Karīm (Khawāja) 102n.  
*Kaḥf-u'l-Mahyūb* 13n, 77.  
*Kaḥf-u'l-Qur'ān* 77n.  
 Kaḥmīr 29, 62.  
*Kaḥf-u'l-Naḍīk-u'l-imd-nyah-ur-*  
*-Kaḥf-u'l-Faḍīl-u'l-Yumūdī-*  
*nyah* 19n.  
*Kaḥf-u'l-Maḥyūb* 3n, 5, 11n, 16n,  
 17n, 19n, 22n, 24n, 28, 29,  
 33n, 34, 35n, 36n, 38n, 39, 40n,  
 43n, 48n, 49n, 52n, 56n, 63n,  
 65n, 67n, 71n, 72n, 91n, 94n,  
 102, 112n, 118, 119.  
 Khawāḍah-i-Farīdīyah 103.  
 Kharrals 108.  
*Kharrat-u'l-Aḡḡyah* 9, 12n, 68n.

Khokaran (Khokara) 107, 108.

*Muḥṣan-u'l-Tawārīkh* 9.

Khulawāl 11n.

Khurāsān 6, 10n.

Khusrāw 40n, 107, 110, 114.

Khusrāw Malik 12, 13.

Khusrāw Shāh 10n.

Khwāja Ajal Shīrāzī 29.

Khwāja Ajmerī 22n.

Khwāja Ghaur 60.

Khwāja Muḥammad 72n

Khwāja Mūsā 66.

Khwāja Qādī 64, 65.

Khwāja Zoor 60.

*Kimiyā-i-Sa'ādāt* 77

Kirmān 29.

*Kutb-i-Kifāyah* 83n

*Kutb-i-Rauḍa* 83n

*Kutb-i-Ta'arruf* 77n.

*Kutb-i-Tanbīh* 83n

*Kutb-i-'Umdah* 83n

*Kutb-u'l-Hind* 13n

Kol (Aligarh) 18n.

Kuht-Qāt 67n.

## L

Lahore 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 19n,  
30n, 77n.

Lakhnawī 47n, 111.

*Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh*  
110n.

*Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* 57n

*Law'ih* 24n, 77, 83.

*Lawāma'* 77.

Lepel Griffin 108n.

Library of the University of  
Uppsala 70n.

London 13n

Longworth Dame, M. 110n.

Louis Massugnon 19n, 106n.

Lucknow 8, 77n.

## M

*Ma'ārij-u'l-Walāyat* 7, 8, 10n,

11n, 13, 25n, 26n, 37n, 41n,  
59n, 60n, 64n, 67n, 68n, 70n,  
71n, 72n, 78n.

Maccōhi 108.

Machu 109.

Madras 106n.

Maghrib (prayer) 75n.

Maharan 11n.

Mahmūd Ghaznawī (Sultān) 10n,  
13n.

Mahmūd Khalīfī (Sultān) 60n.

Mahmūd Mu'īnah Doz 18, 22n.

Mails 108

*Majma'-u'l-Ashyā* 7

*Makṭabāt-i-'Am-u'l-Quḍāt* 77.

*Malfūzāt-i-'Asāsī* 119.

Mālwah 20, 60n, 64n.

*Manāqib-u'l-Maḥbūbīn* 9.

*Marsād-u'l-'Ibād* 77.

Mas'ūd (Sultān) 31, 39, 40

Mas'ūd Ajodhanī 119

Mas'ūd 'Alī Mahwī 5n.

Mas'ūd b Ibrāhīm 13n.

Mas'ūd Sa d Salmān 13.

*Maḥāshī-kī-Chāwah* 11n

*Maḥāshīq-u'l-Anwār* 14n, 83n.

*Maḥāshīq-u'l-Tālibīn* 7, 8, 10n, 59n,  
60n, 70n, 72n, 102n.

Mawḍūd Chughtī (Khwāja) 83n.

Mecca 31n, 61n, 78.

Minhāj-u'd-dīn Turmūdī 16.

Minhāj-u's-Sirāj 9, 12, 22n, 31n.

*Mir'āt-i-Madārī* 7n

*Mir'āt-i-Mas'ūdī* 7n.

*Mir'āt-u'l-Awḥār* 7, 10n, 11n, 19n,  
23n, 39n, 59n, 60n, 64n, 65n,  
67n, 68n, 70n, 71n, 72nn, 78n.

*Mir'āt-u'l-Haqā'iq* 7n.

*Mir'āt-u'l-Maḥshūqāt* 7n.

*Misbāḥ-u'l-Hidāyah-aw-Misbāḥ-u'l-*  
*-Kifāyah* 24n, 29n, 82n.

Mongol 1, 10n, 29, 30n, 64.

Montgomery 108n

Morgenstern 106n.

Mughlīh-u'd-dīn (Sultān) 47n.

Muḥammad 52n.

Muḥammad (Shaiḥ) 60.  
 Muḥammad (Shaiḥ) 123.  
 Muḥammad Aḥmad (Shaiḥ) 12.  
 Muḥammad Akram 7, 9.  
 Muḥammad 'Alī Sāmā'ī 23n.  
 Muḥammad Amīr Māh 24n.  
 Muḥammad Aḥraf (Shaiḥ) 19n,  
 123.  
 Muḥammad 'Atā 111n.  
 Muḥammad Bihārud Khān 9.  
 Muḥammad b. Al-Muwayyid b.  
 Abī Bakr b. Abī al-Ḥasan b.  
 Muḥammad b. Ḥamawī 56n.  
 Muḥammad b. Munawwar 25n.  
 Muḥammad b. Tughlaq (Sultān)  
 5n, 62n, 63, 64, 70n.  
 Muḥammad Bulāq Chishtī 7, 8,  
 60n.  
 Muḥammad Ghauthī (Shattārī)  
 7, 9, 12, 24.  
 Muḥammad Ḥabīb (Professor) 2,  
 5n, 40n, 81, 107, 118.  
 Muḥammad Ḥusain Morādābādī  
 (Hāfiz) 9.  
 Muḥammad Imām (Khawāja) 66.  
 Muḥammad Mamman 4n.  
 Muḥammad Multānī (Maulānā) 68.  
 Muḥammad Naighāpurī 68.  
 Muḥammad Shāh 4.  
 Muḥammad Sa'īd 123.  
 Muḥammad Shāh Ghūrī 68.  
 Muḥammad Sirāj (Shaiḥ) 67.  
 Muḥammad Sirāj-u'l-Ḥaqq 70n.  
 Muḥammad Yār (Shaiḥ) 123.  
 Muḥammad Yūsuf (Shaiḥ) 123.  
 Muḥī-u'd-dīn Ibn-i-'Arabī (Shaiḥ)  
 19n, 20n, 56n.  
 Mu'in-u'd-dīn 'Abd-u'l-Mah (Mau-  
 lānā) 67, 68n.  
 Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī (Khawāja)  
 5, 14, 17, 20, 21, 29, 35, 48,  
 63, 123.  
 Mujaddid-i-Āl-i-Thānī 122, 19n.  
 (The) *Mujaddid's Conception of*  
*Taqwīd* 19n.  
*Mujmal-i-Faṣṣṭ* 56n.

*Muḥb-u'l-Ma'ānī* 5n.  
*Muḥammad* 70.  
 Multan 10n, 11n, 13, 16, 27,  
 18, 20, 37, 54, 57n, 73, 203,  
 108, 111, 112, 121.  
 Munawwar (Shaiḥ) 123.  
 Munshi Mohan Lāl 110n.  
*Muntahab-u'l-Tawārīkh* 6n.  
 Muntajab-u'd-dīn (Shaiḥ) 68.  
 Muqarrab Khān 8n.  
 Murjī 31n.  
 Muslim University, Aligarh 5n.  
*Muslim University Journal* 101n.  
 (The) *Mystics, Ascetics and Saints*  
*of India* by J. C. Oman. 25n.

## N

Nadwat-u'l-Musannifin 2n, 6n.  
*Nafahāt-u'l-Uns* 5n, 19n, 20n,  
 56n, 57n, 72n, 74n.  
*Nafas-i-Raḥmān* 7n.  
 Nāgaur 111, 113n.  
 Naighāpur 57n.  
 Najm-u'd-dīn (Maulānā) 9.  
 Najm-u'd-dīn Kubrā (Shaiḥ) 56n.  
 Najm-u'd-dīn Rāzī 77n.  
 Najm-u'd-dīn Sughrā (Shaiḥ)  
 15n, 20.  
 Najīb-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Muta-  
 wakkil (Shaiḥ) 3, 11, 35, 37,  
 41, 67, 71, 73, 74, 94n, 96, 120.  
 Najul (a fortress) 106n.  
 Nāṣibī 31n.  
 Nāṣir (Shaiḥ) 12, 48.  
 Nāṣir-u'd-dīn (Khawāja) 59.  
 Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Balramī 31n.  
 Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehlī  
 (Shaiḥ) 5, 23, 24n, 29n, 33n,  
 38, 39, 41, 63, 65, 69n, 70n,  
 91n, 118.  
 Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd (Sultān)  
 20n, 101, 112.  
 Nawan Loh 9n.  
 Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow  
 8n, 9n, 77n, 82n.

Nicholson, R.A. 13n, 77n.  
 Nigāmi 4, 84n.  
 Nizām-u'd-dīn (Shaiḥh) 40, 59, 61, 96.  
 Nizām-u'd-dīn Abū'l Muwwayyid (Shaiḥh) 17, 18n, 22n.  
 Nizām-u'd-dīn Anḥyā (Shaiḥh) 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 15, 26, 27, 31n, 33n, 37, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 49, 51, 52n, 53, 56n, 57, 60, 63n, 65, 66, 67, 68n, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 79, 80, 82, 87, 89, 91n, 92, 93, 94n, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 102n, 105, 106, 111, 113, 116, 117, 118, 120, 121.  
 Nizām-u'd-dīn Kharīṭah-dār 35.  
 Nizām-u'l-Mulk 114n.  
 Nūr Turk (Maulānā) 31, 32, 36, 41.  
 Nūr-u'd-dīn (Shaiḥh) 123.

## O

*On the Siah Pagh Kāfirs with Specimens of their Language and Costume* 106n  
*Oriental College Magazine* 6n, 110n.  
 Oxford Press 2n.

## P

Pāk-Pattan 1, 24n, 36, 105n, 107, 108.  
 Palestine 6.  
 Pānīpat 8n.  
 Pātālī 40, 57n.  
 Peshāwar 7n.  
 Phulwāri 6n.  
 Pindi Gheb 108.  
 Pirī Raff'-u'd-dīn Tahsildār Dehli 70n.  
 Pir Sayyid Imām 'Alī Shāh 109n.  
 Presungulis or Vison people 106n  
 Prithavi Raj 31n.  
 Prophet Muḥammad 98.

Punjab 1, 13, 28n, 34, 36n, 73, 107, 108.  
*Punjab Castes* 105n, 108n, 109n, 117n.  
*Punjab District Gazetteers* 105n, 108n.  
*(The) Punjab Gazetteer* 58n, 108n.  
 Punwar Rajput 108.  
 Punwar Sials 108.

## Q

Qaḍī 'Abd-u'llah 80n.  
 Qāḍī Hamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurl 77, 83, 111n, 113n, 120  
 Qāḍī Muḥl-u'd-dīn Kāshānī 65  
 Qāḍī Muntajāb 68n, 94n.  
 Qāḍī Sh'uaib 10, 11, 12.  
 Qandhar 18, 29, 30.  
 Qannauj 14, 40n.  
*Qur'ān* 53n, 62n, 72, 75, 76, 82.  
 Qarsum Bibi 11, 15.  
 Qasūr 11  
 Qaul-u'l-Jamīl 24n.  
 Qarwīnī 24n  
 Qubachah 16n, 17n.  
 Qutb-u'd-dīn Albahrī (Shaiḥh) 20n  
 Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (Khwāja, Shaiḥh) 5, 8, 15n, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30n, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 40n, 51, 52, 74, 76, 81, 83, 95, 112n, 118, 119.  
 Qutb-u'd-dīn Hasan 65.  
 Qutb-u'd-dīn Munawwar (Shaiḥh) 70, 72n, 82n.  
 Qutb-u'l-Aqṭāb 21n.  
 Qutb-u'l-Qulūb 77, 83n.

## R

*Races of the North-Western Provinces of India* 117n.  
 Raḍī-u'd-dīn Hasan Shāghani 14n.  
 Raḍiyah (Sultān) 31n.

*Rāfat-u'l-Arwāḥ* 83n.  
*Rāfat-u'l-Muḥibbin* 29n.  
*Rāfat-u'l-Qulūb* 26, 29n, 83n,  
 87, 118, 120.  
 Rahīm Bakhsh Fakhrī 7.  
 Rai Pithaura 119.  
 Rai Shānkar 108.  
 Rājput 1, 13, 108.  
 Rāmpur (Library) 82n.  
 Ranthambhor 64n.  
 Raḥīd-u'd-dīn Minā'ī (Khawāja)  
 25, 26.  
 Rathor 108.  
*Raudah-i-Aqtāb* 8, 11n, 16n, 19n,  
 22n.  
*Raudah-i-Auliya* 68n.  
 Raverty 9n, 13n, 20n, 34n.  
*Rahla (Ihn-i-Baṭṭūḥ)* 61n, 62n,  
 110n.  
*Report on a Linguistic Mission  
 to Afghanistan by Morgenstern*  
 106n.  
*Report on the Census of the Punjab*  
 108n.  
*Risālah-Ḥāl-Ḥāṣimādah-i-Chaḡhī*  
 20n.  
*Risālah-i-Maḥbūb-ḥ-i-Iḥq-i'l-Maḥ-  
 būb* 24n.  
*Risālah-i-Qaḡdāri* 77.  
 Robertson (Sir G. C.) 106n.  
 Rohtasgarh 60.  
 Rolf Henkl 106n.  
 Roorkee 78n.  
 Rudauli 7n, 78.  
 Ruḡn-u'd-dīn (Maulānā) 42.  
 Ruḡn-u'd-dīn (Shaiḡh) 62.  
 Rūm 6.

## S

*Saba' Sanābi*, 86.  
*Sābiḥ* 69n, 78.  
*Sa'di of Hindustān* 5n.  
*Sa'd-u'd-dīn Qānawī* (Shaiḡh) 56n.  
*Sa'd-u'd-dīn Hamawī* (Shaiḡh) 56.  
*Safed Posh* 106n.

*Safinat-u'l-Auliya* 7, 8.  
 Sahāranpur 69n, 78n.  
 Saif-u'd-dīn Bakhshī (Shaiḡh)  
 29, 56n, 57, 120.  
 Saḡhī Sarwar (Sultān) 13.  
 Salār Mas'ūd Shāzi 14n.  
*Salok Shaiḡh Farīd Ka* 121.  
 Samargand 30.  
 Samā-u'd-dīn (Shaiḡh) 6n.  
 Sanjar (Sultān) 10n.  
 Sara-i-Halwā'ī 16.  
 Sarhanga 34, 108.  
 Sarhangwallan 107, 108.  
 Sayyid Aḥmad Shān 9n.  
 Sayyid Nūr-u'd-dīn Mubārak 6,  
 17, 22n.  
 Sayyid Raḥīd Aḥmad Rūḍvi  
 (Pir) 12n.  
 Sayyid Wajīh-u'd-dīn 'Alavī 7.  
 Sayyid Maulā 101, 111n.  
 Sayyid Maḥmūd Kirmānī 46, 72.  
 Sayyid Muḥammad b. Mubārak  
 Kirmānī 6.  
 Sayyid Muḥammad Gōṣū Darīz  
 21n, 23, 25n, 41n, 67n, 119.  
 Sayyid Muḥammad Husainī 23n.  
 Sayyid Muḥammad Kirmānī 57-  
 66.  
*Sects of the Hindus* 105n.  
 Seistān 18n.  
 Shafiq Bakhsh (Khawāja) 83n.  
 Shāh 'Abd-u'l-'Azīz 119.  
 Shāh 'Alā Pānīpatī 8n.  
 Shāh Fakhr-u'd-dīn 9.  
 Shāh Jahan 8, 78.  
 Shāhpur 108.  
 Shāh Wali-U'llah 24n, 25n.  
 Shaiḡh Bīnā 8n.  
 Shaiḡh Gadā'ī 6n.  
 Shaiḡh Tabrizī 120.  
*Shajarat-u'l-Arwāḥ* 7, 9, 78n.  
 Shalokas 121, 122.  
 Shams-i-Dabir 83.  
 Shams-i-Sirāj 'Alī 62n.  
 Shams-u'd-dīn Turk (Mawḡḡh)  
 18, 22n.

- Shams-u'd-din Turk Panipati (Shaiikh) 67.  
Shams-u'd-din Yahyā (Shaiikh) 70n.  
Sharf-u'd-din 96, 113n.  
Sharf-u'd-din (Shaiikh) 123.  
Sharf-u'd-din Kubrā (Malik) Muqta' of Dipalpur 72.  
Sharb-i-Auliyā 83n.  
Sharb-i-Maghāsh 83n  
Sharb-i-Shaiikh-u'l-Islām Mu'in-u'd-din 83n.  
Sharb-i-Ta'arruf 77.  
Sharb-i-'Ulāmā  
 Shaṭṭanawfī 19n.  
 Shekashubhodaya 15n  
 Shēr Khān 103, 120.  
Shibli (Shaiikh) 119.  
Shihāb 80.  
Shihāb-u'd-din (Maulānā) 42  
Shihāb-u'd-din (the magician) 44.  
Shihāb-u'd-din (Maulānā or Khwāja. Bābā Farid's son) 51, 59, 60, 95.  
Shihāb-u'd-din (Shaiikh) known as Farrukh Shāh Kābulī 12  
Shihān-u'd-din Muḥammad Ghori (Sultān) 1, 10n, 13, 31, 108n.  
Shihāb-u'd-din Suhrawardi, (Shaiikh) 15n, 17n, 19, 29, 57, 77n, 82, 83.  
 Sial 107, 108  
 Sialkot 13, 15.  
 Siam 107.  
 Sidikov 19n.  
 Sikhs 110.  
 Sind 31n, 57n, 59.  
Strāj-u'l-Haqq, Muḥammad 70n.  
Strāj-u'n-Nasab 70n.  
Strāj-i-Firās Shāhī 61n.  
 Sura 60.  
 Sura 105n.  
 Swistān 29, 78.  
Sayer-i-Muḥammadi 23n.  
Sayer-u'l-Aghāb 7, 8, 10n, 11n, 12n, 18n, 19n, 21n, 22n, 27n, 36n, 39, 45n, 47n, 49n, 50n, 51n, 67, 68n, 78, 111n.  
Sayer-u'l-'Arifin 6, 10n, 11n, 15n, 17n, 18, 19n, 20n, 21n, 29n, 34n, 36n, 37n, 38n, 71n, 72n, 80n, 116.  
Sayer-u'l-Auliyā 1, 3n, 6, 10n, 11n, 12n, 14n, 16n, 17n, 18n, 19n, 20n, 21n, 22, 23, 25n, 26n, 27n, 28, 29, 30n, 31n, 32n, 33, 34n, 35n, 36n, 39, 40n, 41n, 42n, 43n, 45n 46n, 48n, 49n, 50n, 53, 54n, 55n, 56n, 57n, 58n, 59, 61, 62, 63n, 64n, 65n, 66n, 67n, 68, 69n, 70n, 71n, 72n, 73n, 74n, 75n, 77n, 78, 79n, 80n, 81n, 82n, 83, 84n, 85n, 87, 89n, 90n, 91n, 92n, 93n, 94n, 95n, 97n, 99n, 101n, 102n, 103, 104, 106n, 110n, 111n, 112n, 116.  
 Steedman 108  
 (The) *Sufis' work in the early development of Urdu language* 85, 106n  
 Sukmar Sen 15n.  
 Sulamān (Shaiikh) 12.  
 Sultānī (a Hindu tribe) 13n.  
 Sultān-i-Ghāzī 13.  
 Sultān-u'l-'Arifin 21n.  
 Sunnam 51  
 Sutlej 36, 108.  
 Syria 6

## T

- Tabaqāt-i-Nāpurs 9, 13n, 20n, 22n, 31n.  
 Tabriz 16.  
Tafhimāt-i-Ilāhiyah 24n.  
Tafsir-i-Imām Zāhid 83n.  
Tafsir-i-Kaḥḥāf 83n.  
 Tahajjud (prayer) 75n, 76.  
 Tāj-u'd-din Mahmūd (Shaiikh) 123.

*Tahmilah-Siyar-u'l-Auliya* 110n.  
*Tamhid-u'l-Mahadi* 98.  
 Tānda 60.  
 Taqi-u'd-din (Maulānā) 68.  
 Tarā'in 31.  
*Tārīkh-i-Āl-i Subuktigin* 31n.  
*Tārīkh-i-Firishah* 72n.  
*Tārīkh-i-Firās Shāhi* ('Afi) 70n,  
 110n.  
*Tārīkh-i-Firās Shāhi* (Barani)  
 2n, 5n, 9n, 17n, 47n, 60n, 72n,  
 77n, 101n, 103, 114n.  
*Tārīkh-i-Guridah* 56n, 57n.  
*Tārīkh-i-Islām* 19n.  
*Tārīkh-i-Maghāzikh-i-Chagh* 2n, 3,  
 94n.  
*Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi* 9.  
*Tārīkh-i-Taqawwuf-dar Islām* 56n.  
*Tarīf-i-Badari* 72.  
 Tehrān 25n, 91n.  
 Teo 108.  
 Thaggs 110n.  
*Thamar-i-Hind Press* (Lucknow)  
 9n.  
 Timūr 106n, 110.  
 Tiwanas 108.  
 Tobas 108.  
 Tobiyān 107.  
 Tripathi, R. S. 14n  
 Tughrlī (Malik) 47.  
*Tuḥfat-u'l-Abrār-fi-Karāmat-u'l-*  
*Akhyār* 65.  
*Tuzuk-i-Baburi* 19n  
*Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri* 7n.

## U

Uchch 25, 26, 28, 78, 111, 112.  
*Uḡayy Khān* 101, 102.  
*Uḡayy-u'l-Haq-iq-ūn Hikam-u'd-*  
*Dop'i* 56n.  
*Umar* (Caliph) 12.

Urdu 85, 106.  
 'Usūlī (Shāikh) 120.  
*Uḡayy-i-Harvani*, (Shāikh) 29,  
 118.  
 Uttar Pradesh 78n.

## V

*Vidyapitha Commemoration Vo-*  
*lume* 81n.

## W

Wade (Captain) 11n, 24n, 124.  
 Wahāru (Shāikh) 67.  
 Wahid (Shāikh) 67n.  
 Wahid-u'd-din (Khawāja) 48, 112.  
 Waḡulis 106n.  
 Wāḡ-u'l-Akbar Ab'ul Fath 12  
 Wajih-u'd-din Khajendi (Shāikh)  
 11.  
 Wajih-u'd-din Pa'ili (Maulānā)  
 63, 65n.  
 Whinfield 24n.  
 Wilberforce Clarke, H. 82n.  
 Wilson 105n.  
*(The) Wooden Sculptures of Kafir-*  
*istan* 106n.

## Y

Yaudheya 36  
 Yemen 6.  
 Yogi 105n.  
 Yāsuf (Shāikh) 12, 68.

## Z

Zafar Hasan (K. B.) 9n.  
 Zain-u'd-din Damiyahī (Shāikh)  
 67.  
*Zuddat-u'l-Maḡmūlā* 122.



